LIVING ON THE MARGINS: AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF 19TH CENTURY KAROO RURAL DWELLING

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ABSTRACT

The 19th century corbelled houses of the Karoo are an architectural type conventionally attributed to Trek Boer pastoralism. Consequently, mid-20th century scholarship tends to view them as an architecture type that embodies the ideology of whiteness on the frontier. However, recent research emphasises that Cape frontiers in the early stages of development were zones of interaction rather than simply boundaries that defined racial and cultural binaries. Consequently, research on corbelled houses of the Karoo has explored that they are a creole architectural type that came about through the frontier processes of the Cape, particularly between people with mixed Khoe and settler ancestry. Specifically, it has been suggested that the domed 'igloo' form reproduces the basic indigenous architecture of the pastoralist matjieshuis. Kramer (2012) established a timeline for the building of these structures and estimated that they emerged from the 1830s and were built up until the mid-to-late 19th century. Furthermore, Kramer (2012) and Lupuwana (2017) have linked these structures as the dwellings of pastoralists of Baster descent.

This thesis broadens the discussion of these corbelled houses and argues that with the closing of the Northern Cape frontier later in the 19th century, this architectural type straddled multiple social and class identities. In order to explore this issue, archaeological and documentary evidence are combined to interrogate the biographies of three corbelled structures built in the 1860/70s on the farm Gorras in the Carnarvon district of the Karoo, during a period of agricultural, pastoralist and mercantile intensification. Architectural additions, spatial change or inertia, combined with household debris indicates different scales of consumption, degrees of material indulgence and the purchasing power of different households.

The documentary evidence suggest that these distinctions can be linked to the households of farm labourer families, aspirant landowners and actual landowners. A critical cusp in the architectural biography of the main farm complex occurs in the mid-1870s when the first landowner of Gorras moved from a corbelled house into a large Victorian dwelling. Through this shift, the other corbelled houses on the farm continued as dwellings of the landless. It is suggested that the occupants actively expressed in their dwelling, distinctions in identity that were the product of the earlier Cape frontier.

The Gorras example reflects the success of the landowner to enter the middle class, while the continued use of corbelled structures remains an architecture of landlessness and relative poverty. It is suggested, however, that it is difficult to generalize the experience of poverty and social mobility as the experience is both regional and personal. The focus on individual farm biographies of dwelling contribute case specific responses to the later 19th century closing frontier and the entry of the Karoo into global economies.

DECLARATION: **I am presenting this thesis in FULL fulfilment of the requirements of my degree. I know the meaning of plagiarism and declare that all of the work in the thesis, save for that which is properly acknowledged, is my own.**			
SIGNATURE:	Signed by candidate	**DATE:**	**03/06/20**

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my mother Simenyiwe Keneiloe Lupuwana. I am here because of the relentless and undying love of a mother. Thank you for all your sacrifices, your prayers and love. Thank you for loving me well. To my parents Simenyiwe and Casper: I thank you both for how you have raised me, inspired me and encouraged me. To my father Casper, I only wish you could have seen the woman I have become. I love you both.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The corbelled houses of the Karoo are an enduring vernacular architecture form that in the popular imagination visually speaks to the life in the northern Cape 19th century frontier zone. These structures have not received much focused research attention and our understanding of their importance in relation to the formation of identities in the northern frontier is still quite limited (Walton 1960;1989; Kramer 2012; 2019; Hancock 2013; 2018). Initial enquiries racialised these structures and linked them to a 'white' Trek Boer identity. The links to whiteness were mobilised by the national monuments council through focused efforts to identify monuments that could be linked to British and Afrikaner nationalism. The initial focus which emphasised whiteness as the umbrella category that led to the emergence of these structures has affected the canon of research negatively as it has not given precedence to the diverse entanglements that happened on the frontier. By taking the position that these structures come out of frontier interactions, this thesis takes the stance that these structures are far from being an architecture of race.

Through an approach that takes into account the processes of change and continuity in frontier studies, the view taken is that the biography of the corbelled house is a structure absorbed, formed and utilised by various racial groups and that in the late 19th century, it is specifically linked to an underclass identity that is diverse in terms of both race and class. Recent work around frontiers in southern Africa has been particularly important in reshaping views around objects and materiality on the frontier (see Schrire 1988; da Costa 1992; Hall 1993; Silliman 2002; Penn 2005a; Ouzman 2005; Hall & Mazel 2005; Challis 2012 McGranaghan 2015).

These earlier views on the Karoo corbelled houses are problematised in this thesis and I discuss how these perceptions fit within a particular notion of frontier and cultural exchange that perpetuate beliefs that cultural innovation in African contexts had to happen primarily as a consequence of innovation from contexts outside of Africa. In contrast, recent historical and anthropological approaches to colonial frontiers have looked at groups on the frontier as being active agents of cultural change (Silliman 2002; Lightfoot & Martinez 1995). The frontier is now seen as a space of interaction, and mutual cultural exchange. A growing body of research on frontiers and interaction is actively reinterpreting the archaeological record of contact in the archaeology of South Africa.

For example, within rock art studies, recent work by Ouzman (2005), Hall & Mazel (2005), McGranaghan (2012), Challis (2012) and Lupuwana (2017), discuss a renegotiation of identity that happens in the 18th and 19th centuries and that the addition of new material cultures as seen in the rock art social identities are a product of change and continuity. Ouzman (2005), Hall & Mazel (2005), McGranaghan (2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016), Challis (2012; 2016) and Lupuwana (2017) emphasise this characteristic of interaction and cultural exchange as a definitive characteristic of the South African frontiers. The documentary archive from travellers and missionaries also takes note of the process of interaction through intermarriage and other cultural exchanges (Barrow 1801; Burchell 1822; Backhouse 1844; Lichtenstein 1812). In this light, initial research questions a single point of origin for the corbelled houses of the Karoo.

Through such new evidence, the framework of research on frontier interactions in the 18th and 19th century takes the view that aspects of indigenous cultures and cosmologies were not simply eviscerated with the coming of new industrial technologies, foods, dress and cultural

forms. Instead, objects facilitated and mediated cultural change and continuity of ideas, beliefs, and practices (Bleek & Lloyd 1911; da Costa 1992; Ruether 2002; Waldman 2003; Ouzman 2005; Hall & Mazel 2005; Hoff 2011; Challis 2012; McGranaghan 2012, 2014, 2015, 2016; Lupuwana 2017; Lupuwana & Hall 2019).

It is within this framework that I reconsider the Karoo corbelled houses that emerge in the 1830s and their persistence into the later nineteenth century. I take the view that corbelled houses are constructed within the context of interaction and are far from being an architecture of whiteness, and this elaborates the work of Kramer (2012; 2019), Smuts (2012) and Hancock (2013; 2018), but additionally, focuses on their continued use and presence through the nineteenth century (see Lupuwana 2017; Lupuwana & Hall 2019).
Kramer (2012; 2019), Smuts (2012) and Hancock (2013; 2018) began the preliminary background studies that have linked these structures to a dwelling type of pastoralists and pastoralist economies within a more complex notion of frontier in which Khoe and colonial interactions, gave rise to a culturally entangled Baster mixed race.

The work from my Masters elaborated the process of interaction on a farm near Williston where later nineteenth century rock art has been linked to Baster identity and a corbelled house has been linked to Baster occupation (Lupuwana 2017; Lupuwana & Hall 2019). Important strands of discussion from my own research and that by Patricia Kramer (2012), and Caroline Hancock (2013), has been on the centrality of the domestic space as a function of the processes of interaction. While both Kramer and Hancock have explored the built environment and elaborated the typologies of the structures and the spatial organisation of hearths, cooking and indigenous cultural ideas expressed in the nature of middens, there has not been a systematic excavation of the middens associated with these structures.

Additionally, for the most part, the Karoo corbelled houses have been researched in isolation from the many examples that show substantial sequences of room additions and modifications, that date to the later 19th century. These architectural sequences, along with parallel depositional sequences are combined to explore the nature of these dwellings through the closure of the Cape frontier.

The focus is on the farm of Gorras, located 40km outside of Williston, where there is one of the first corbelled houses to receive National Monuments status in the 1960s. This farm not only has one of these corbelled houses, but three others have been identified on the same farm. This is significant, and the late 1860s manifestations of corbelled houses in this area, as the frontier closes, are diverse, and with sequences of additions, are stylistically varied. This variability provides commentary on different socio-economic and political experiences of later 19th century life on the rural margins. I put forward the argument that in the closing frontier of the later 19th century corbelled houses were shared across race and class, but when the frontier fully closed, they increasingly became a dwelling of those barred from owning land. The argument that I will develop will examine the social hierarchies represented and communicated by these structures so as to explore the micro-scale experiences of rural poverty and aspiration. Since corbelled houses represent rural communities and to a large extent poor or low-income-households, I use the case of Gorras to interrogate the socioeconomics of the domestic space.

Given this departure from earlier conventional thinking, this thesis reports on the first excavation of middens associated with post-1860 corbelled houses on Gorras farm when the frontier had mostly closed during political contestation, economic growth and downturn, and increasing social segregation (Giliomee 1981). I examine the processes of interaction that

resulted in the creation of these Karoo corbelled houses and within the backdrop of this history, I examine the domestic residue generated by their residents. This examination considers differential rural economies of landowners and leaseholders, sharecroppers and bywoners, foremen, farmworkers, and itinerant labour. This contributes to a move away from totalising narratives of poverty or wealth (Croucher & Weiss 2011). I am interested in how the macro-history of the closing frontier in the later 19th century, when the broad forces of industrialisation, modernisation and capitalism, intersected with identities generated in the open frontier of the earlier 19th century. Through a biographical approach to the material from the middens, I focus on exploring the diversity of economic experiences of rural dwellers on this one farm. I argue here that it is essential for frontier research to focus on the micro-scale in order to analyse these different experiences.

In the case of colonial economies, there is a tendency for research to aggregate the effects of capitalism on low-income communities (see Croucher & Weiss 2011). The effects of the macro-scale theoretically influence everyone equally, and this is assessed in relation to the micro-scale responses of several economic and social categories. Some are known from the documents, and these provide a partial comparative anchor for other assumed and generic categories. The three contexts on the farm offer the opportunity to present three narratives of domestic life, where corbelled houses are at the centre of households. Therefore, an understanding of the socio-historical context of the earlier Cape is important for understanding the household economy and subsequent development of corbelled houses and their change and continuity through the 19th century. Equally,the events of the late 19thcentury closure of the frontier, when economic, political and social closure increases racial and economic stratification are also important in understanding the context within

which the welfare state of the 1930s was set up in response to these constructions of race and class distinctions (Giliomee 1981; Bundy 1986).

The period from the 1860s, consequently is pivotal, because it articulates processes, events and memory of the early 19th century frontier with the intensifying global economics of the closing frontier. Corbelled houses straddle this period because they were generated in the open frontier and are variably adapted and recycled in the closing frontier. This architecture type represents the manifestation of the processes of interaction and this house form, while it remains, a cultural template of interaction, changed in meaning through the commercialisation and industrialisation of rural economies and drew a marginal Karoo into later 19th century global processes of trade.

The thesis is divided into three parts. Part One is titled the Biographies of Events, Objects, Spaces and Places and compiles a biographic study of the issues at hand. In which Chapter Two introduces the literature around corbelled houses, specifically with a focus on James Walton who is arguably the father of the study of vernacular architecture forms in South Africa. The early literature makes little direct reference to the corbelled houses of the Karoo; but does acknowledge the Southern Sotho corbelled houses of the Late Iron Age. While Walton later contributes to writing about the Karoo corbelled houses, there is an active separation in his writing between structures seen as indigenous African in origin and those of European origin. While this distinction is broadly correct, it did however, historically isolate the origin of the Karoo structures within the progressive European side of the Cape frontier. Alternatively, I outline social histories that consider cultural interactions in the open frontier as a contributor to the origin of the Karoo corbelling tradition (Kramer 2012, 2019; Smuts 2012; Hancock 2013, 2018). As a consequence, it is suggested that, far from being an

architecture of race, the corbelled house crosscuts racial and cultural boundaries. Consequently, how does this play out in the nature of their continuity into the late 19th century?

Chapters Three and Four introduce the social history of interaction and theory around frontiers and, reviews the macro-scale social history of the Northern Cape, played out within violence, contestation and shifting economies from subsistence pastoralism to rural economy dominated by commercial pastoralism. With increasing movement inland and competition for land, Xhosa, Baster and other Khoesan descendant groups found themselves increasingly marginalised from the means of production and independent economic production.

In Chapter Five the documented farm history of Gorras is reviewed, starting with its lease to a pair of brothers (JDC and JC Jankowitz) during the 1860s, who under this social backdrop of conflict, and increasing economic opportunities from the merino wool and ostrich feather trade, find themselves in a position to develop the farm. While the brothers never actually gain the title to the farm, later taken by the Van Wyks after 1873, documents contribute to the chronology of the corbelled houses, and explicitly link both families to one of them (Gorras I). With the help of the written evidence, the architectural biographies of each corbelled structure are described, and inferences as to the social identity of the other two structures (Gorras III and IV) are suggested.

The suggestion from the combination of the architectural biographies of modification, spatial additions and extensions, in conjunction with the written evidence, are then assessed in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight of Part Two (Excavation Material Description). Here the material recovered from excavations at Gorras III and Gorras IV are described and assessed

in relation to the architectural biographies and what the material might represent in terms of the relative capacity of households to purchase and provision themselves. The discussion that follows at the end of Chapter Eight collates the observations from Gorras III and IV, with some input from Gorras I, and reflects on the economic history and the historical biography of occupation, leasing and ownership to investigate the differential economies exhibited by the occupants of each household.

Part Three (Discussion: Economic Means and Class Aspirations) concludes the thesis and enters a discussion around the earlier themes of consumption, power and status. I consider how the built environment is used to communicate both means and status and how this intersects with the material from the middens. The discussion developed in Chapter Nine looks at the differentiation of class and the increasing marginalisation of the landless rural poor and explores how their social aspirations are reflected in both the architectural and material culture sequences of Gorras III and IV. Lastly, while the distinction between the landless on Gorras are clear from comparison with the economic trajectory of the farm centre around Gorras I it is suggested that an interplay of identity between the different landless households on Gorras, are partially played out within the creation of social categories created in the open frontier of the earlier 19th century.

PART ONE:

BIOGRAPHIES OF EVENTS, OBJECTS, SPACES AND PLACES

CHAPTER TWO

APPROACHES TO VERNACULAR: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON CORBELLED HOUSES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Corbelled houses are vernacular structures, which have broadly been defined as an architecture type which can be built directly from the ground up and meets the most immediate needs of the builder or the occupant. There is no formal training that goes into their production and these houses are usually constructed by the occupants (Upton 1983; Upton & Vlack 1986; Deetz 1977; Glassie 1975; Gribble 1990; Oliver 2007; Kramer 2012, 2019; Hancock 2013, 2018). Previous research into the origins and occupants of corbelled houses reflects an implicit notion of a frontier as a cultural boundary, compared to more recent approaches, that emphasise frontiers as culturally fluid places.

Most of the early writing around corbelled houses focused on Later Iron Age Sotho-Tswana (Walton 1956a, 1956b) 17th century corbelled structures followed up by Maggs (1976), and very little research around the corbelled houses of the Karoo has been done. The Karoo corbelled houses emerge in the southern Karoo areas around the 1830s (Kramer 2012). The early writing (Walton 1960, 1989) on the Karoo corbelled houses came from interested amateurs and architects. In the 1960s James Walton was in the first category, while Franco Frescura, an architect whose writing on vernacular architecture in South Africa, is of interest for not including the Karoo corbelled houses. With the rise of the Historical archaeology group (HARG) at the University of Cape Town (UCT), there was a shift towards more archaeological approaches to vernacular architecture, the work of Gribble (1990) was particularly influential in terms of describing and interpreting the long house structures of the Verlorenvlei. The growth of historical archaeology as a discipline of study at UCT saw an

increase in the studies linked to vernacular architecture studies. These studies were influenced largely by the work of Glassie (1975) and took a structuralist approach to the interpretation of the vernacular architecture types of the Cape colony. Gribble's contributions along with his contemporaries will be discussed later in this chapter as they were instrumental in the shift from vernacular architecture being studied and recorded by enthusiasts and architects, to a period when archaeologists took a central role in the recording and interpretation of vernacular architecture.

This point of transition between the disciplines that paid attention to the interpretation of vernacular architecture is important and the first part of this chapter reviews the attempts at interpreting vernacular architecture by non-archaeologists. Up until the 1960s, the corbelled houses were all but forgotten save for the memories of those on whose farms they were built. As the timeline of interest suggests, the interest in them picked up in the apartheid era, as the Apartheid state was attempting to define South African heritage in terms of white Cape origins (Malan 2004:20). This was integral to changes to heritage legislation. The passing of the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities Act (No.4 of 1934), replaced the Natural and Historical Monuments Act of 1923 (No.6 of 1923) and the Bushman-Relics Protection Act (No.22 of 1911), and shifted the focus to the protection of monuments and built structures and areas of the natural landscape (Shepherd 2019). In 1923, an official body was instituted that would be responsible for heritage management. This statutory body was the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and it was granted increased powers in 1934 (Shepherd 2019).

Under the commission the Bureau of Archaeology was established. The impact was that, "in the period between the passing of the [1911] Bushman Relics Protection Act… the late 1940s conceptions of heritage in South Africa were connected to settler histories, the British Empire, Afrikaner identity and the role of science, especially archaeology" (Shepherd

2019:19). This meant that conceptions of heritage were actively being manipulated to reimagine heritage under the framework of, "Afrikaner nationalist history, [as] heritage management fell into the hands of Afrikaner folk historians" (Shepherd 2019:19).

In 1969 a new heritage Act (National Monuments Act [No. 28 of 1969]) was put in place with the focus predominantly on the architectural notion of heritage as the driving force in heritage management (Shepherd 2019). The 1969 Act is significant in that it was concerned with defining white heritage in the South African context whereas the previous Acts had primarily focused on Bushman identity and the 'relics' of the Stone Age and Iron Age. The 1969 Act saw the establishment of two committees (the Burgergraftekomitee and the British War Graves Committee) mainly to protect graves and war monuments as they related to British and Afrikaans ancestry, and using the Act to facilitate the protection of British colonial and Cape Dutch architecture (Meskell 2002; Malan 2004; Shepherd 2019).

The 1969 Act was used to profile heritage and the racial and/or cultural superiority of white South Africans (Meskell 2002). The built environment became a tool for stamping British and Afrikaans identity upon South Africa's historical fabric. A natural fixation on the built environment saw the glorification of Cape Dutch buildings as national heritage and the 1820 Settler houses as an identifier of English heritage in South Africa. The ruling National Party was at this stage focused on heritage signifiers which would not only use the "Historic Monuments Commission to identify South Africa's heritage mainly in terms of its white, Cape origins" (Malan 2004:20), but more specifically, to select the cultural heritage that could be directly used to justify white-Afrikaner nationalism. In the foreground of such political manoeuvrings was critical anti-apartheid resistance such as the Sharpeville massacre, the arrest and trial of Nelson Mandela along with other anti-apartheid struggle leaders and the eruption of the Soweto riots and ensuing national 'unrest' in the late 70s, all of which rocked the foundations of apartheid South Africa.

In the case of the Karoo buildings, it was in a report to protect a corbelled house on the farm Arbeidersfontein, that interest around the political heritage value of these structures grew. As a result, in 1959 James Walton was commissioned by the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities to examine these buildings and see if there was any cultural significance that could be tied to them (Kramer 2012, 2019; Hancock 2013, 2018; Appendix A). From his work, five corbelled houses were declared national monuments, on the farms Arbeidersfontein, Stuurmansfontein, Gorras, Grootfontein and Schuinshoogte (see Appendix A).

The question raised earlier on why corbelled houses became an object of inquiry and research in the 1960s gains complexity, especially when observed within the context of the increasing white nationalism of the apartheid state and the intensification of the repression of anti-apartheid resistance. These competing forces are further accentuated when we understand that although there were a number of archaeologists and historians in the country at the time, the commission to examine the corbelled structure's heritage significance fell to James Walton an architecture enthusiast, educator and amateur. As important as his contributions were to the field of vernacular architecture, it is strange that archaeologists were not included in these initial heritage significance surveys. It is also important that I temper these statements by pointing out that the archaeological focus on vernacular architecture in the 1960s was particularly limited and that it only grew through the influence of scholars such as James Deetz and Henry Glassie.

To examine these issues further, I divide the research into three broad periods that are chronological but are additive and do not reflect a research sequence of replacement. The first period ranges from the 1950s up until the late 1980s. The second period stretches from the late 90s up until the mid-2000s and is led primarily by the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa (VASSA) which recorded over 200 of the Karoo corbelled houses. I briefly

discuss the impact of the HARG at UCT in reshaping the direction of historical archaeology research as it relates to vernacular architecture and the archaeology of the underclass. The last period I examine is the new school of research which started in the post-2010 period and represents the current discussions and theories around the emergence of these structures.

THE 1950s-1980s RESEARCH PERIOD

JAMES WALTON: LATE IRON AGE FOCUS

James Walton was an educator not an archaeologist but was deeply engaged with vernacular architecture as an interested amateur. He was the founder of the Vernacular Architecture Societies in Britain and in South Africa and he is largely seen as one of the key voices which framed some of the earlier thinking around corbelled houses. His research and writing around corbelled architecture were initially focused on the corbelled houses associated with Late Iron Age settlements (Walton 1956a, 1956b, 1961, 1965a and 1965). The structures he studied in the first half of the 1950s are "scattered throughout the eastern parts of the Orange Free State between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers and in the southern and eastern Transvaal" (Walton 1956b:26). These settlements were identified as Iron Age settlements, and their presence seen as evidence of the early Bantu migration. These settlements are characterised by circular stone kraals and corbelled beehive-like structures (Walton 1956b). Walton argued that these structures belonged to two main groups found along the Walsch Rhenoster Wilge and other Vaal tributary valleys (Walton 1956b).

Walton (1956b) created a typology for these Late Iron Age corbelled structures in southern Africa, consisting of three types: A-type; B-type; and C-type structures. A-type structures have a beehive-like shape built from spheroidal dolerite and were linked to the Mantase communities in the Doringberg. B-type structures, these were not associated with the A-type structures and were linked instead to pastoralist communities, they had huts with querns and

free-standing houses with no connection to the kraal and no *lelapa* (courtyard) at the front of the homestead. These were later described by Maggs (1976) as Type-V settlements. These corbelled houses were generally built close to the central cattle enclosures and were probably sleeping 'huts' for young boys. The outer domestic ring of these settlements is where the households of married women were found (see Maggs 1976). Finally, Walton describes the C-type structures as having an (oval-shaped base and often incorporated into the kraal walls, examples of which are seen at Doringberg near Ventersburg and at Sedan near Lindley in the Orange Free State).

Figure 2.1 shows examples of the types of structures described by Walton and their associated typologies (see Appendix B). In his early writing. Walton emphasises that the corbelling technique and corbelled structures were already present in southern Africa during the Late Iron Age prior to any discernible influence from colonial expansion. Walton's typological and culture history approach is seen through his representation of the data where he categorises the settlement types into the culture groups noted earlier (Walton 1956b:45; see also Fig 2.1).

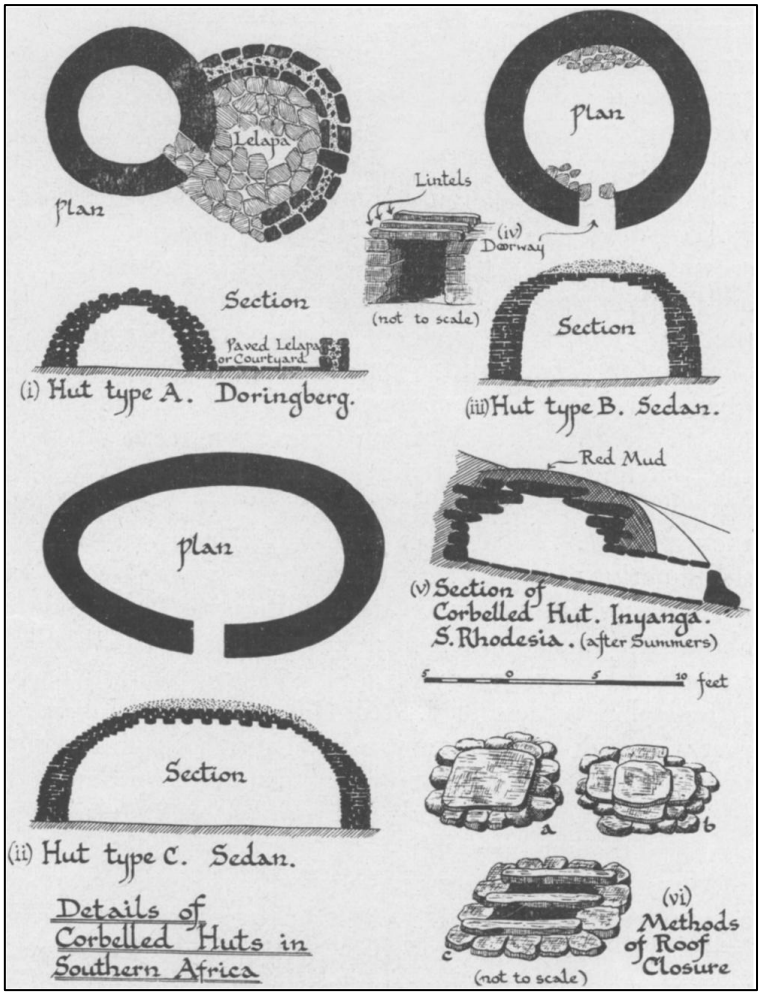

Figure 2. 1. **Walton (1956b: 26) corbelled houses typological types.**

Walton's typologies and conclusions about these structures are not of much use in developing theoretical discussions on their meaning within historical archaeology, but his ideas about origins are of interest (1956b). He maps out the distribution of corbelled structures across the world and contrasts this distribution with that of corbelled huts in Southern Africa (Fig 2.2). In this map he traces a migratory route which details both the world distribution of corbelled huts and the distribution of corbelled huts in southern Africa, mapping their distribution from Inyanga (in Zimbabwe) to the corbelled houses in the Free State and the Vaal River. He implies that the corbelling technique diffused into Africa from elsewhere, Europe being the origin (Fig 2.2).

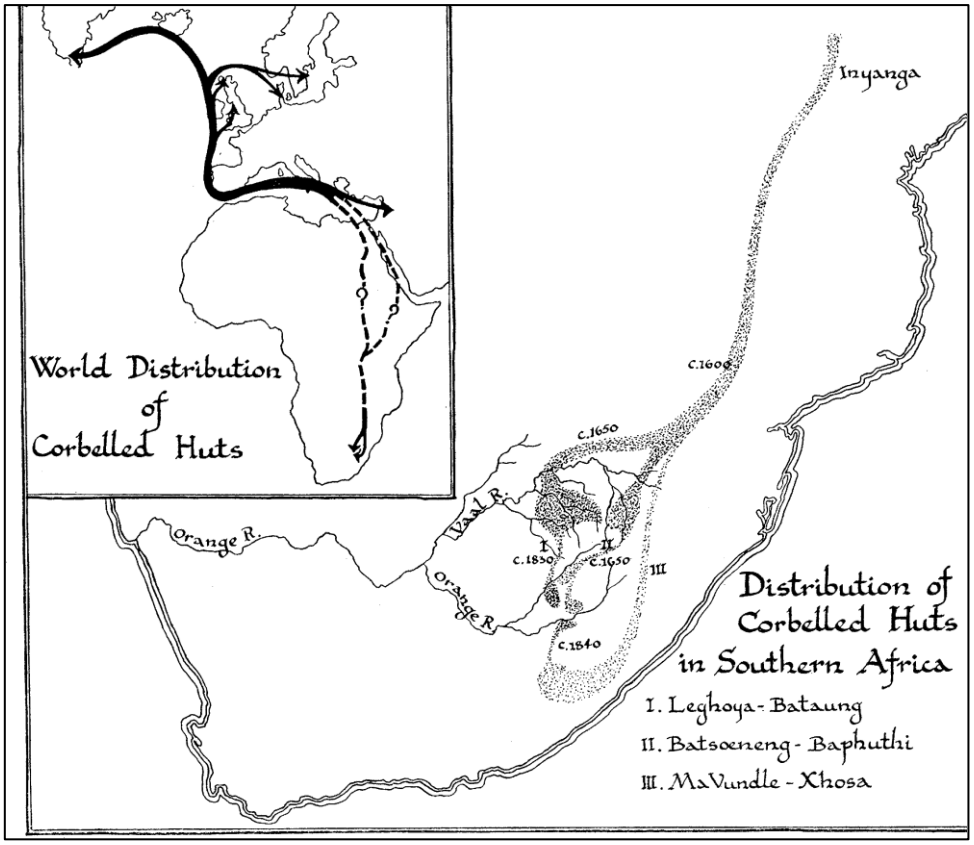

Figure 2. 2.World distribution and southern African distribution of corbelled huts (Walton 1956b: 28).

What is evident about his approach is that it emphasises a culture history approach with a focus on diffusion as the catalyst for cultural change. The concentrated nature of corbelled houses in southern Europe, meant that the technology trickled into Africa from Europe. Interestingly, his map makes no mention of the Karoo corbelled houses. The main point of Walton's argument for the origins of these structures is that they appear as a result of long-distance migration. Despite his migration ideas of origin and attributing a historical identity to these structures his work is focused on the empirical details associated with these structures, biographical information, construction details and materials used to make the structures. Walton focuses on measuring the structures, the height and width of the doorways, and establishing the typology through planimetric views of the structures. These structures are 'precolonial', but despite Walton's links between them and historic Southern Sotho identities, he does not address the social aspects of these structures. As noted, Walton's view

is that corbelling technology came into southern Africa through migration (Fig 2.2), which is reductionist. He subdivided world structures into types that differentiate between what he perceives as the 'most advanced' and 'least advanced', which actively attributes southern European structures as the most advanced and the southern African structures as the least advanced (Walton 1956b, Fig 2.2).

As noted earlier, this typology does not include the corbelled houses of the Karoo. It is possible that the separation between European and African types excluded the Karoo corbelled houses when writing his book, *The African Village* (Walton 1956b). The question is whether this was a conscious omission or was done unwittingly. Walton's heritage commission report on the Karoo corbelled structures was only filed in 1960, and this perhaps after he became aware of the Karoo corbelled houses. Whatever the case, it may be that underlying assumptions about their immediate cultural contexts excluded them from discussion in *The African Village*. It is also possible that the corbelled houses of the Karoo were omitted from this study because he had not yet 'recorded' them.

JAMES WALTON: KAROO CORBELLED STRUCTURES

In 1959, Walton was commissioned to assess the heritage significance of the corbelled house on Arbeidersfontein. Following this commission, five corbelled structures received National Monument status. A distinction is clearly made between these corbelled structures and the settlements associated with the Late Iron Age. Walton appears to be looking at the two corbelling techniques in isolation and makes an implicit distinction between indigenous African structures and those structures assumed to be made by white settlers (Walton 1960).

In the 1960s Walton begins writing about the Karoo corbelled houses and his admiration of them is captured in this description,

> "I was both delighted and amazed, therefore, with my first distant glimpse of Stuurmansfontein…Against the burnt semi-desert surroundings, which had been seen practically no rain for four years, the tiny whitewashed homestead stood out clearly in the brilliant sunshine. Even at this distance the giant stone beehives were a strange and fascinating sight: one which I had never expected in South Africa and almost as remarkable as the beehives of Alberobello, Gordes or Tel Bisseh"
>
> (Walton 1960:2).

His bibliography from this time included an article published in *Panorama* magazine, "Stone Beehive Dwellings of the North-Western Cape" (1961) and *The Old Farmsteads* (1989). At the same time, he continued to write on the Southern Sotho households and started to write on Cape domestic and vernacular types (Walton 1956a, b; 1961; 1965a, b) with remarkable output. In his continued research of both the Late Iron Age structures and the Karoo structures, no comparison was made, and possible historical links aside, the point is that one was European, and the other African.

In his 1989 work, Walton explicitly describes corbelled houses of the Karoo as the buildings of white stock farmers. Walton (1989) situates these structures within the growing importance of sheep farming in the 19th century Karoo. The background to this is that the growth of stock farming in the later 18th century encouraged overgrazing and settlement in areas of the Cape such as the Drakenstein and Stellenbosch areas, and spurred movement into the northern frontier of the Roggeveld escarpment (see Penn 1986; 2005a). "Many farmers moved into winter loan farms in the Karoo, and as subsistence sheep farmers moved north of Fraserburg and into the districts of Carnarvon and Williston, they encountered a stony,

treeless semidesert" (Walton 1989:16). The abundance of stone in this region which he argues could easily be split and broken into suitably sized slabs, facilitated the building of what he claims are trekboeren corbelled beehive structures.

Walton's argument about their link with Trek Boer identity has to do with the structure's similarity in size with the corbelled houses of the Mediterranean, particularly structures in Yugoslavia, southern Italy, southern France, Minorca, Spain and Portugal as well as western Ireland (Walton 1989). Walton (1989) therefore, asserts that it seems likely that an:

> "…itinerant builder from a Mediterranean country possibly Portugal, wandered inland from the west coast and, seeing the easily quarried stone, decided to build a corbelled building, the Khoi, who helped him, learned the technique and from then on they were able to build houses for the trekboeren" (Walton 1989:17).

While the distinctions between the Karoo and Free State structures is not wrong, it does feed the notion that the Karoo structures owe their presence entirely to a European origin. It is interesting that his interpretations are based on the five large corbelled structures in his report, which all were probably built from the 1860s (Kramer 2012), are 'grand' and fit the stature of 'National Monument'. The varied and smaller types of Karoo corbelled houses, many of which are earlier in date, were not considered. Walton also argues through the distribution of the corbelled huts that they would have come from a single point as all the buildings have common features (Walton 1989:17). However, this is not the case (Kramer 2012), as Walton had yet to survey a large sample of the corbelled houses of the Karoo. The typology created by Kramer (2012) shows that there was more diversity in Karoo corbelled house types.

In summary, Walton's early work (1956b) explored the Later Iron Age settlements and the corbelled structures related to them as he endeavoured to place these settlements into a local historical context. However, it is only with the work by Maggs (1976), and others, that these structures and settlements are fully contextualised. Walton (1960, 1989), then begins to expand his focus on the Karoo corbelled houses as structures explicitly associated with white stock farmers (trekboers). An important point of reflection about Walton's later writing on the corbelled houses of the Karoo is the explicit inference that the technology behind the structures came from Europe by way of the Cape. In Walton's view there is an ideological difference between the Late Iron Age structures and the 19th century Karoo structures. In fact, his emphasis on migration as a catalyst for the corbelling technology links both his earlier research on the Late Iron Age structures and the 19th century structures in that he believes that in both instances, the technique came into the African context largely as a result of migration and diffusion from Europe.

FRANCO FRESCURA

I mention the contribution of Franco Frescura as secondary to that of Walton, but this does not make it less important. The research he initiated in the 1980s on vernacular architecture in South Africa, directly commented on the homelands and their influence on the vernacular architecture traditions of the day and is seminal work. While Frescura's work is embedded within the socio-cultural context of the apartheid state it is interesting that it does not mention the 19th century Karoo corbelled houses at all, even though he does reference the Late Iron Age corbelled settlements in his research. Like Walton, he focused on the materials used to build the structures and established hierarchical typologies with some comparative links to ethnography, history and other archaeological work.

Frescura's thesis focuses on delineating types and thus establishing a chronology of types specifically as it relates to the materials used in the construction of the houses. His

interest lies in exploring the evolution of vernacular architecture styles in the context of changing social and cultural values in the apartheid state (Frescura 1981;1985). There is perhaps a symmetry between the thinking of Frescura (1981;1985) and that of Walton (1956a; 1960), in that Frescura omitted them from his work because he thought of them as European structures, in contrast to his focus on African vernacular structures. Additionally, Frescura was an active and radical voice against apartheid South Africa, and because his work was focused on the African vernacular architecture and housing in the rural homelands, Karoo corbelled houses did not fit within this conceptual focus. An important point to highlight here goes to the fact that both James Walton and Franco Frescura were not archaeologists and that their approaches favoured their technical training as an architectural historian and an architect respectively. The architectural approaches continued to influence the work of the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa and the shifts came through the increase in research by the Historical Archaeology Research Group.

THE VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE SOCIETY OF SOUTH AFRICA (VASSA)

Under Walton's influence the Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa (VASSA) was formed and included several amateurs and non-archaeologists. The society was founded on the popularity of the folk buildings course run by the University of Cape Town Summer School. One of VASSA's major contributions was the systematic survey and recording of corbelled structures in the Karoo; over 200 corbelled buildings have been visited, recorded and measured (Kramer 2012; Hancock 2013). These surveys included biographical information from the current landowners as well as notes on the plans and the collation of photographs taken by Walton in the late 1950s and 60s. Like Walton, VASSA was still largely interested in recording these structures through measuring, photography and planimetric drawing of the structures.

Within the VASSA research period Judy Maguire (2008) sought to answer the question of why this architecture type occurs within the limited geographical region defined by "Williston in the north-west, Carnarvon in the north-east, Beaufort West in the south-east and Sutherland in the south-west" (Maguire 2008:15). She correlated this with suitable rock in the form of flat and rectangular slabs from the igneous baked mudstones of the Lower Beaufort Subgroup of the Karoo System. She rightly suggests that this stone was ideal for corbelled houses and this accounts for geographical distribution. Other reasons cited by Maguire (2008) for the distribution include climate, economic and environmental reasons although these are only briefly covered. Geology, however, is the main driver since there is an abundant supply of flat stone in the Karoo (Maguire 2008). This perhaps paints an environmentally deterministic argument. The influence of the geology on the development of corbelled housing architecture remains important, however, in the case of the Free State Iron Age structures, corbelling was achieved without the use of naturally tabular stone, and dolerite boulders were used instead. It is clear then that the geological reason alone is not sufficient to explain the occurrence of the 19th century corbelled houses within this limited geographical range.

THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY RESEARCH GROUP (HARG) AND HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN SOUTH AFRICA

I mention the impact of HARG as its research was instrumental in shifting the focus of historical archaeology of the Cape to a focus on the underclass (Hall et. al 1988; Schrire 1988; Winer & Deetz 1990; Hall et.al 1993; Malan 1993; Hall 1994, Malan 1998). This reinvigorated research directive saw a focus on slaves, the underclass and additionally saw a shift towards a focus on vernacular architecture studies within the world of historical archaeologists in South Africa. The excavations at Paradise by Hall et.al (1993) and the work

of Antonia Malan on probate records and the archaeology of the Cape settlement through the ceramic assemblages of Tennant Street and Barrack Street (Malan 1990, 1993, 1998, ; Klose & Malan 2000) were all critical to the shift in thinking about vernacular architecture types. This research was largely focused on the historical archaeology linked to the development of the city of Cape Town and thus represented a much more urban take on vernacular architecture and ceramic signatures. The work of John Gribble (1990) was important in shifting the focus which saw more of a directed effort on applying a more sophisticated social and theoretical approach. At the same time Johanna Behrens (1990), was completing her research using the same structuralist principles that had captured the imagination of a number of archaeologists working on vernacular architecture. The focus on the rural, and the underclass, actively influenced the work that succeeded the early phase of the HARG research interests. The disjuncture between the architectural historical approaches and the more theoretical archaeological approaches represented an important shift in the study of vernacular architecture in southern Africa.

NEW RESEARCH ON CORBELLED BUILDINGS FROM 2010

An important change in approach to the Karoo corbelled structures comes with a shift to thinking about colonial frontiers as zones of interaction, and cultural exchange. The 'new' research was initiated by Patricia Kramer who was working on her material at the same time as Maguire (2008). Kramer, as a key member of VASSA, had been part of the process of documenting over 200 of the Karoo corbelled houses and wrote her data up in her 2012 dissertation (Kramer 2012). While her research was largely based on descriptions and measuring and the architectural detail of the corbelled houses, she initiated a discussion that brought to the foreground issues around cultural entanglement.

From basic architectural attributes, Kramer (2012) constructed a typology of the corbelled houses. This typology also captured some chronological indicators. Corbelled structures with rectangular base forms and ridged corbelled 'domes' correlated with the northern area of their distribution, where the farms were surveyed and sold from the 1860s (Kramer 2012; Smuts 2012). Many of the smaller corbelled structures, on the other hand, probably pre-dated the 1860 date, and were located in areas where the new system of land tenure started by the British was instituted in the early 1830s. Kramer's research initiated discussions focused on the cultural processes that gave rise to these structures, specifically that of cultural entanglement within the context of an open and closed Cape frontier (Kramer 2012; Hancock 2013), and Walton's (1989) notion of a singular European origin.

Importantly, Kramer's work (2012) is significant because she situates the start date of construction of these houses within the context of a rapidly growing commercial pastoralism based on merino wool. In her discussion of the origins of these corbelled buildings, Kramer (2012) also considers the 18th and 19th century social and political landscape in conjunction with environmental and geological factors. This discussion was supplemented by a preliminary project by Hancock (2013), in which the idea that the domed form of the corbelled houses was culturally comparable with the domed dwelling of indigenous pastoralists especially the *matjieshuis* of the Nama. Hancock (2013) introduces the idea that the structures are rooted in a frontier zone of colonial and indigenous pastoral interaction, entanglement and cross-cultural exchange. Arguably, trekboer farmers were influenced by indigenous cultural practice and in turn influenced indigenous forms. Kramer's (2012) emphasis is then on describing the structures as an architecture that was influenced by and resulted from the process of interaction.

This is an important step because it broke down the idea that this dwelling form was linked only to white trekboer pastoralists. Quite rightly, Kramer (2012) started to dismantle the cultural boundaries created by a culture history approach and she initiates a preliminary examination of the corbelled buildings as products of interaction, cultural meeting and cultural exchange. Kramer (2012) also notes the abundance of flat stone versus wood as a factor in their distinctive construction (see also Maguire 2008). While raw material contributes to the form of these structures, this does not address the cultural choices being made and the relevance of the domed form in the architecture of indigenous pastoralist dwellings, within the western Cape, and even further afield.

Kramer's (2012) thesis also importantly puts in place a typology for the Karoo corbelled structures. In doing this, she focuses on the combination of two basic attributes. The first is the shape of the base where the type A base is round, the type B base is square and the type C base oval. The second attribute was the roof shape, where 1 is the round domed roof, 2 the cone-shaped roof, and 3 pitched shaped roof (Kramer 2012:120). The second step was to further refine the typology in terms of the size of the corbelled house as well as the presence of a full or half door. Kramer's (2012) typology and survey is an important record which details the dynamic shapes and types of corbelled houses in the Karoo and underpins a later date for the more elaborate corbelled types and situates the corbelled structures on Gorras farm.

A second key development in Kramer's work is an attempt to refine the chronology of these structures to ask when in the development of the Cape frontier, did they emerge as a dwelling form? Kramer (2012) suggests that this form starts to be built around the 1830s, or a little before. At the same time that Kramer (2012) was completing her dissertation, Smuts (2012) was also examining the 19th century development of land, landscape and sheep farming. To this end, he explored the chronology of the farm title deeds in the Karoo region

through GIS and mapped the distribution of the title deeds by dates (Fig 2.3). One of the objectives of his research was to see if the chronology of title deeds correlated with the occurrence of different corbelled types, as defined by Kramer (2012), that all date from the 1830s.

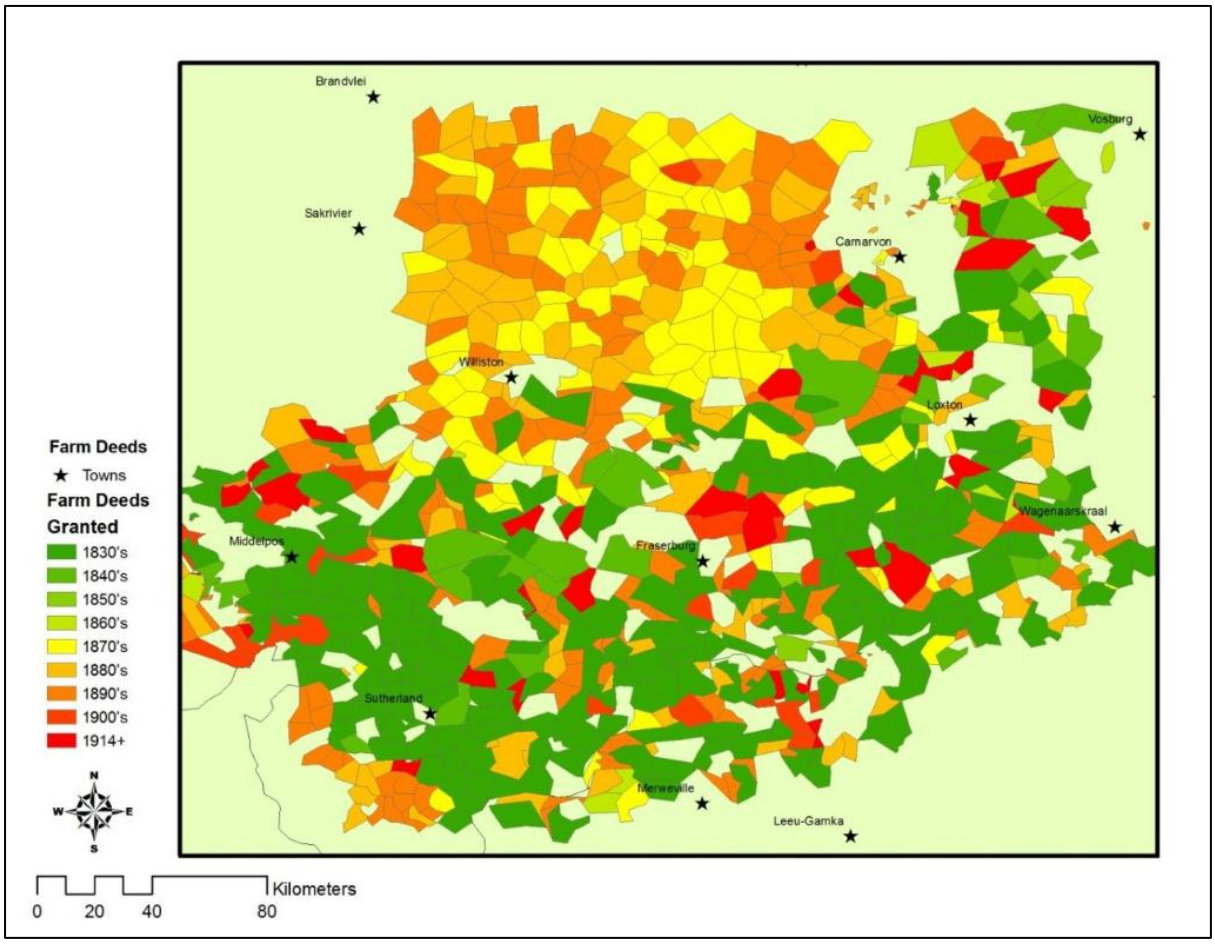

Figure 2. 3. Map illustrating the distribution of farms in the Karoo by title deed date and when ownership was first granted (from Smuts 2012).

Smuts clearly shows that the earliest titles were granted along the Roggeveld escarpment from the 1830s. The dates for title deeds are younger the further north-east one goes into the Karoo. In the Carnarvon area the first title deeds were only granted in the early 1860s, where the more complex structures are to be found. Smuts' (2012) work supports the view that there is a chronological progression from the simpler corbelled structures in the south west of their

distribution, to the more complex forms in the north east, where the farm title deeds were only granted after 1860. However, he could not infer from his analysis that the location of corbelled structures universally indicated that the occupants were the initial owners of these farms. Smuts (2012) points out that corbelled structures were not necessarily the dwellings of landowners, because some of their occupants would not have had the capital to buy farms, and this would also have applied to mixed-race and Xhosa communities. Even if they had money to purchase farms their aspirations were continually thwarted by both legislation and a growing white monopoly over land (Penn 1986; 2005; Herbst 2004; Amschwand 2009; Amschwand 2014; Amschwand 2017; Lupuwana 2017).

Smuts (2012) concludes, that:

> "there is no necessary correlation between the title deed date and the date of the corbelled structures. An explanation for this could be that the vernacular architecture was a response by those who could not afford to purchase land and who consequently became itinerant squatters and relatively impoverished small-scale stock farmers on land owned by others" (Smuts 2012:1).

Therefore, the individuals were probably poor and could not afford to purchases. The houses were therefore, occupied by a variety of people from the underclass.

As indicated, this research contextualises the corbelled structures that Walton nominated for National Monument status. When plotted they fall on farms purchased from the 1860s and there is a positive correlation in the types of structures declared as national monuments and their size. The structures nominated in the post 1860 category were usually large, and in Kramer's typology, include elaborate structures with rectangular bases and pitched corbelled roofs rather than simple ones. This more securely dates these 'grand' corbelled structures

from the 1860s and coupled with oral data, indicate that these later types could have been the dwelling of landowners.

Kramer's research was extended by Hancock (2013) who further developed the theme of cultural and social entanglement in a preliminary study that compared the spatial organisation of corbelled households with pastoralist ethnography, particularly the organisation of Nama households. Hancock focused on the organisation of the household and its spatial layout and "mapped the distribution of activity areas on thirteen different [corbelled] sites with particular focus on the ash heaps and the placement of the *kookskerm*" (Hancock 2013: ii). The focus in this work was to explore the idea that corbelled houses were in part a product of open frontier dynamics by comparing their spatial organisation with ethnographic examples of indigenous pastoral societies spatial organisation.

From this comparative analysis, Hancock (2013) notes that, "there is some comparative value between the household organisation of the corbelled houses and the Nama settlement patterns that have been recorded in ethnographies and historical accounts" (Hancock 2013:93). This value is most explicitly expressed in the form and placement of middens and kitchens (see Appendix B for the indigenous types of dwelling houses). In particular, Hancock drew interesting ideas in a comparison between the number of middens in corbelled house complexes and the number of cooking areas, or later additions of interior kitchens. Basically, for each kitchen there was a single midden, and if this domestic correlation represents one wife, it may resonate with the power of a Nama wife's midden that underpins her identity and her domestic power and authority (Hancock 2013). In the background of this research Moffett (2010) was completing an important study on the material context of the Schimmelfontein labourers' households. Furthermore, Zachariou (2017) was also extending the rural study focused on the material culture of rural settlement on the farm Kerkplaats. I mention these studies as they were extending the limited studies on rural contexts.

Taking up a theme touched on by Kramer (2012), Hancock completed a Masters dissertation on corbelled houses as heritage resources (2018), in which she discusses vernacular architecture and heritage theory and conducted interviews to evaluate their significance in their contemporary settings in order to formulate heritage management plans. Hancock (2018) is a strong proponent of the ideas of cultural entanglement and interviewed landowners and labourers who had a knowledge of corbelled houses. The interviews did not yield new specific information on the corbelled houses themselves and memory of who built them and why the dome shape was chosen is largely unknown by the interviewees (Hancock 2018). However, despite this, Hancock highlights that the buildings have a local profile as heritage among a diverse range of Karoo people that in turn suggests complex and diverse histories.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the limited research on the nature of the Karoo corbelled house architecture. Walton in the 1960s and 1980s, linked the buildings to Trek Boer frontiersmen and this reflects the social and political context within which this research was conducted, with an emphasis on white history and materialising whiteness. There was an impetus to identify the original constructors and develop the viewpoint that these structures were an architecture of whiteness and this was supported by heritage legislation and the proclamation of architectural monuments associated with 'white' identity. On the other hand, although Frescura focused on vernacular South African architecture, he paid no attention to the Karoo corbelled houses, perhaps because the corbelled structures had been co-opted into apartheid ideology. Through a critical review of this writing, I join the developing views of Kramer (2012; 2019); Smuts (2012) and Hancock (2013) that these structures, far from being an architecture of race, are instead a material manifestation of the processes of interaction on the Cape frontier.

I emphasise that through this framework, there is a need to start exploring the economic detail of the 19th century. This stems from the suggestions the research has made concerning the correlation between the emergence of this architectural type and the particular land tenure system introduced by the British, and which was instituted in the 1830s.The British land tenure system specifically encouraged the purchase of a title deed and therefore, this increased landownership. With the profits from the wool boom many farmers were able to purchase land that had been leased during the VOC administration. The impact of the British tenure system will be discussed further in chapters three and four.

Interlinked with this, is the shift from a 'traditional' subsistence pastoralism towards commercial pastoralism, based upon the introduction of merino sheep and the production of wool for the global market. Lastly, while the advent of Karoo corbelled structures in the early 19th century may relate to these factors, what do they mean in the later 19th century in relation to the memory of these dynamics and as a dwelling type that had its origins within a frontier that was largely still open. The next chapters elaborate the social histories within which these structures begin to appear in order to contextualise their use as dwellings later in the 19th century.

CHAPTER THREE

SOCIAL HISTORIES AND THEORIES OF THE HOUSE, SPACE AND OBJECTS

In the previous chapter I outlined some key themes in the writing about corbelled houses (Walton 1956b; Walton 1960; Frescura 1981; Walton 1989; Kramer 2012; Smuts 2012; Hancock 2013 & Hancock 2018). In the earlier work by Walton (1956b, 1960, 1989) and Frescura (1981) there was a conceptual separation between corbelled structures constructed by Southern Sotho farmers and those constructed by people of European descent. To a certain extent this is correct, but the fact that neither made any mention of their structural similarity reflects, I suggest, a deeper assumption about difference underpinned by race. Additionally, the descriptions by Walton (1956b, 1989) are guided by an evolutionary framework whereby both Indigenous and European structures are introductions from elsewhere. Walton in particular emphasises a singular link between European Trek Boer pastoralists and the Karoo corbelled houses. He was only partially correct in making this link. As noted in Chapter Two, there are forces of entanglement and interaction at work. Therefore, an architectural tradition of this form does not develop in a cultural bubble.

The shift in thinking about these structures comes about through the work of Smuts (2012), Kramer (2012) and Hancock (2013), who began to discuss the cultural embeddedness of these structures as an architecture of hybridity and creolised identity. These structures come about within a social and economic system of pastoralism and the frontier processes of interaction. Particular emphasis is placed on historiography that links these structures to Baster identity, a racial category that comes about in the 18th century through the

intermarriage and miscegenation of Khoe women and Dutch men (Elphick 1985; Elphick & Giliomee 1989). In the earlier part of the 18th century, the children identified as Basters, had a considerably high social standing and could be baptised, however, as the 18th and 19th century progressed, this status diminished (Strassberger 1969; Guelke 1976; Elphick 2012).

A new view is that these structures are a hybrid dwelling expression of Karoo stock keeping. The work by Lupuwana (2017) is relevant in this instance as it explored Baster identity and its connections to Khoesan cosmological practice in the face of rapid industrialisation and interaction. These connections are seen through the interplay between quotidian domestic space and the ritual practices linked to Khoesan adult identity. The case study of the Grootfontein later 19th century rock engravings (Lupuwana 2017) showed that 19th century communities did not simply break ties with their cultural beliefs but instead developed them in new contexts. This research joined an interest in the processes of cultural change and continuity, linked with the body of research described and discussed by the Historical Archaeology Group of the University of Cape Town and by a number of southern African historical archaeologists.

This research has utilised the archaeology of colonial settlement, contact and interaction so as to better understand the effect of the colonial era on indigenous and local communities (Schrire 1988; Brink 2001, 2008; Hall 1993; Little 1994; Markell et.al 1995; Malan 1998;; Malan 2007). The continued research on frontiers and interaction is particularly of interest as it has been highly contested. The argument for the process of change and continuity is particularly linked to a recent body of work that views the frontier as a dynamic and changing space and where the responses of indigenous and local communities are specific to the pressures they encountered. Frontiers therefore encompass a full range of responses to colonialism and these are change, continuity, disavowal, and the adoption of new identities

and ethnicities (Posnansky & Decorse 1986; Stein 2002; Ouzman 2005; Behrens & Swanepoel 2008; Challis 2012; McGranaghan 2011, 2015).

Lupuwana (2017) identifies the colonial home as an ideal space where female rites of passage occur and where the wider political and social actions of society are rearticulated in the home (see also Hall 1994; Bradford 1996; Malan 1998; Waldman 2003; Lawrence 2003; Mitchell 2007). With this in mind, I review the social history of Cape frontier interaction. At one level the social history paints a broad macro-scale picture of what individuals and communities experienced. At a second level it creates a basis from which we can then discuss the specifics of the farm Gorras. This interaction is characterised by periods of dispossession, violence, co-operation and alliance (Penn 1986; Penn 2005a, b). The discussion that follows paints a broad picture of the historiographical setting in which these structures emerge. Critically, I am interested in the nature of these structures between the early 19th century open frontier, when they appear, and the later 19th century when the frontier has all but closed around commercial production for global markets.

FRONTIER THEORY AND INTERACTION ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER

The period of interest starts within establishment of the refreshment station on the Cape coast by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the 17th century. This period of Dutch occupation sees movement by arriving settlers to the North and East of the Cape. Two frontier regions of interaction have been identified, the Eastern frontier and the Northern frontier. The Eastern frontier saw the first wave of movement because of favourable climate and the consistent rainfall which supported the growing of mixed cereal crops (Penn 2005a). The Northern frontier saw limited movement in the early phase of the VOC occupation, but interest increased in the later 18th century which intensified in the

19th century due to the growth of merino wool production. Interaction on the frontier saw the coming together of different race and culture groups who actively influenced one another over 300 to 400 years. Given that this was a period of cultural exchange, I ground my own study in the more recent approach that understands the corbelled houses as a result of interaction.

The view of frontiers has considerably changed over the last few decades and views of frontiers as places of interaction and intercultural mixing are a fast developing focus in the southern African context (Legassick 1972; Lamar & Thompson 1981; Penn 2005a; Hall & Mazel 2005; Behrens & Swanepoel 2008; Challis 2012). Recent work has responded to earlier ideas on frontier studies raised in Turner's (1893) seminal paper entitled 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History'. He argued that the frontier was a meeting place between savagery and civilisation (Turner 1893 in Penn 2005a), where indigenous groups were seen as passive recipients of change and innovation (see also Fouche 1909; Walker 1930 & Walker 1972; Wendle & Rosler 1999; Stein 2002). Penn (2005a) notes that Turner's approach valorised racism and, in the South African context, his work encouraged the view that indigenous groups were historically peripheral and had little influence on the development of South Africa (Penn 2005a see also Fouche 1909; Walker 1930 & Walker 1972; Beck 1989; Wendle & Rosler 1999; Stein 1998).

In the early 1970s, historians began to look closely at interactions on the South African frontier and Legassick (1972) presented, what Penn (2005a) has called, a "paradigm smashing paper" (Penn 2005a:10) entitled 'The Frontier Tradition in South African Historiography'. This is a Marxist influenced perspective that sought to destroy the frontier tradition and its problematic views on race in South Africa, this paper highlighted the complexity and subtlety of class analysis to discussing issues around race. By positioning the frontier in the South African context as a zone of contact and inclusion, this work signalled

that a rethinking of the 18th and 19th century frontier was needed in South Africa (Legassick 1972 in Penn 2005a:21). Legassick (1972) emphasised the importance of the Northern frontier as a zone of interaction in which the 'other' was not passive and that interactions were not of passive material acceptance between, homogeneous colonial and indigenous identities. The work emphasised that the line between core and periphery was porous. The events of this period resulted in the emergence of the Bastaards, the Griqua, Korana, and Khoesan (Legassick 1972; 1976; 1979; 2004).

Penn's (2005a) book on the Northern frontier, largely influenced by Legassick (1972; 1979) fleshed out the historical context of the Northern frontier which had been largely ignored in a research context. Penn examined colonial expansion, Khoesan resistance and San genocide and the use of the commando force as a means of controlling the landscape for the advancing Trek Boer's through the later 1700s and into the 1800s (Penn 2005). Corbelled houses emerge in this early 19th century context of violence but critically, also at the time the British asserted more control over access to land.

The framework used to discuss the initial appearance of corbelled houses is increasingly grounded on frontiers as spaces of cultural exchange (Lightfoot &Martinez 1995), where there is cultural innovation, objects are created and transformed (Legassick 1972; 1979). Lightfoot & Martinez (1995) specifically consider the archaeological implications of interethnic interactions where frontiersmen absorbed new material cultures to express 'old' ideas of belief and worldview (see also Gell 1998; Knappett 2002; Layton 2003). This perspective shifts the conventional macro-scale of core-periphery towards multi-scalar approaches where small scale variability of agency, contextual social action and cultural construction is not smothered (Lightfoot & Martinez 1995). The emphasis on "micro-historical processes are important for understanding how individuals and segmentary groups respond to encounters with 'others' and how new cultural constructs are created, transformed,

and syncretized on the frontier" (Lightfoot & Martinez 1995: 476). Interaction through, the 18th century Northern Cape is the context in which these micro-historical interactions take place and from which new identities emerge and the objects of interaction come about. Corbelled houses are a hybrid architecture of these macro and micro-historical interactions and emerge in the specific social and economic contexts of the 18th and early 19th centuries.

Access to land and mobility within it was a significant attribute of the Cape 'open' frontier where a rough balance of power between European and Khoe pastoralists shifted rapidly towards the end of the 18th and early 19th centuries due to increasing colonial control. This closure affected the economic, social and political spheres in three ways, (Giliomee 1981; see also Penn 1986): economic closure expressed through relative scarcity of land and resources with a shift from subsistence to commercial farming and increasing control by European settlers. Second, there was growing social stratification where discreet 'races' or ethnic groups were placed within a hierarchy of caste or class relationships. Third, there was political closure, and the imposition of a single source of authority (Giliomee 1981; see also Penn 1986). The 19th century Northern frontier saw increasing restrictions on the social and economic mobility of Khoesan, Xhosa and Bastaards. This marginalisation was politically asserted by the British government where legislation around land, for example, intensified class differences which later became synonymous with racial stratification.

This study extends the focus of the research on the impact of colonialization in South Africa and especially, builds on Hall's (1993) concern that there have been few studies on the processes of interaction conducted through an archaeological lens. The theories of interaction linked to change and continuity offer a powerful platform to explore the impact and experience of colonialism by diverse groups. The research into corbelled houses at the end of the 19th century is particularly important, because unlike the earlier work around the archaeology of colonial settlement at the Cape (Schrire 1988; Gribble 1990; Hall 1993;

Malan 1998; Brink 2008), the material culture of the corbelled houses presents a context where the earlier phases of contact as defined by Silliman (2005) come in contact with the processes of colonisation in a rural setting. Further to this, the presence of corbelled houses in the later 19th century gives us the opportunity to examine the remnants of interaction so as to better understand the processes of change and continuity. The corbelled houses offer us an opportunity to explore colonialism as it was experienced by rural people, most of whom were also part of the underclass.

The corbelled houses emerge in the Karoo early in the 19th century within this period of the closing frontier, where control of land rapidly shifted in favour of white settler commercial pastoralists, including Trek Boer farmers. Land ownership through title deed from the 1830s, required surveys of individual farms, where the loosely controlled circular loan farms of the Dutch period were precisely redefined into straight line blocks of land. With firm farm boundaries, the earlier more open horizons of mobile subsistence pastoralism during the Dutch period shrunk, and the more sedentary dwellings of stone built corbelled houses was a response to this closure. We know that mixed race Bastaard pastoralists, landowners and the growing Khoesan labour class of the rural poor lived in corbelled houses (Kramer 2012; Hancock 2013; Lupuwana 2017), and this persisted, as the case of Gorras will show, into the 1870s. The issue of marginalisation from land ownership became acute for mixed race Bastaard pastoralists, where racial stratification and the reduction of social and economic mobility, either drove them northwards, or as the frontier closed, reduced them to eking out economic independence with the permission of landowners (Lupuwana 2017; Lupuwana & Hall 2019). I briefly elaborate the social history below.

THE DUTCH PERIOD

For centuries Khoe and San accessed the resources of the Cape through a general commonage (Ross 1975, 1981; Parkington et.al 1986; Penn 2005a; Fauvelle-Aymar & Sadr 2008; McGranaghan 2015). Commonage refers to parcels of land legally marked out for communal use and took this meaning from the 17th century. From the later 17th century Dutch period, communal access to land and resources diminished as the Dutch refreshment station was expanded through both Company and independent free burgher farmers. In the early 1700s several edicts were put in place to limit the bartering in livestock with the Khoekhoen and as the century progressed, expansion into the drier northern and north-western areas focused more a pastoral economy (Penn 2005a).

Hence, the 1700s saw the opening of the livestock trade to the public (Elphick & Giliomee 1989:21; Penn 2005a:28-31; Regensberg 2016:7-8). As a response, the Dutch implemented the freehold system and the loan farm landholding systems. Miller & Pope (2000) note that the stipulations of these laws were very much a remnant of the feudal system in which, "the vassal's obligation to render military service was substituted by an obligation to provide produce" (Miller & Pope 2000:4). For example, the freehold grant system worked in such a way that the purpose of the grants was to fulfil the mandate and purpose of the company as a refresher station. Therefore, the farmers could receive as much land as they could cultivate and they were largely exempted from taxes on cultivated land, however, thereafter, all other land would be taxable (Guelke & Shell 1984 in Miller & Pope 2000:4).

The loan farm system quickly usurped the free hold system and it worked in such a way that the farmer loaned land from the VOC and could make improvements on the property in the form of stone walling, dwelling houses or wells. This type of permit gave the farmer exclusive rights over a tract of land, the size of these farms developed organically and when a farmer gave up a lease, he was paid for improvements to the land. The value of these

improvements “became proxies for the property, with small structures selling at prices that reflected the value of the loan farm” (Regensberg 2016:8 see also Guelke 1976:31 and van der Merwe 1995:88). This system saw a rapid capitalisation of land as the loan farms became strategic units of power as “it was not necessary to own the land between two watering points – it was sufficient merely to own the two watering points and the grazing land between would become useless to anyone else” (Penn 1986:63-64).

Although a loan farm was registered under one name, this did not mean that the farm became the sole property of one family. As Trek Boers utilised communal protection pools which allowed for a co-use of resources, the nature of the loan farm encouraged expansion and movement (Penn 1986). As one could not subdivide these pieces of land, children had to move further into the interior and establish their own loan farms and the process saw the appearance of loan farms in the Olifants River Valley, the Warm and Koue Bokkeveld, the Sandveld, and the Cederberg in the 1720s and this migration reaching the Tanqwa Karoo and Roggeveld by the 1740s (Penn 2005a:56, 81; Regensberg 2016). Over grazing, exacerbated by the aridity of these regions, pushed expansion further north, and increased the pressure on Khoe and San economic independence.

Effectively beyond the control of the Dutch administration, in expanding their pastoralism, frontiersmen interacted with the Khoekhoe with increasing violence and theft of their livestock (Penn 2005a; b). Additionally, most violence through the 18th century, was, seen in contestation with San hunter-gatherers over stock theft and resistance to the VOC loan farm system that naturally marginalized the San from their land (Penn 2005a; Adhikari 2010). Increasingly the expanding loan farm frontier disempowered the Khoe and San, dispossessed them of land and drove them into subordinate roles as indentured farm labour. In order to secure and pursue stock thieves Trek Boers Commando’s solidified control on the frontier and facilitated the growing dominance of Trek Boer pastoralists. As Penn (1986) has

argued, “the best strategy for a pastoralist society to adopt was to control an area containing diverse natural resources and subject to seasonal characteristics. This would ensure that the society would have access to grazing and water all year round…Full control or access to such an area was absolutely critical for the pastoralists within it for if access to any one seasonal resource within the area was denied, the cycle would be disturbed and survival jeopardized” (Penn 1986:63). On the Roggeveld this meant the ability to seasonally move from the escarpment down to the winter grazing in the Tankwa Karoo. Additionally, the commando system was largely based on the kin structures inherited from the domestic groups (Legassick 1970 in Penn 1986). This was the case as the “leaders of a commando tended to be heads or important members of a large kinship” (Penn 1986:66).

With Trek Boer expansion over the Roggeveld into the Karoo the dependence on the power of commandos increased. Penn (1986) notes that, “it is thus no coincidence that the most intense fighting between the Trek Boers and the Khoikhoin occurred during periods of transition from one resource area to another” (Penn 1986: 64). This animosity with the San also extended to how they were treated by the Basters and Oorlams. All were pastoralists or aspiring pastoralists and had a common foe, the hunter-gatherers who raided their stock.

As noted above, the mixed-race Baster identity developed on this frontier, and they were co-opted into commando duty along with white pastoralists, Oorlams (mixed people who ascribed to Nama [Khoekhoen identity] and Khoekhoe were also co-opted into this service. Other Khoe and Oorlams also aspired to the status of Basters (Legassick 1989 in Penn 2005) and their origins on the frontier as they could loan land and aspire to Christianity as a social distinguisher that advanced their careers in the colony (Legassick 1989 in Penn 2005). It has been observed that, “at the turn of the [18th] century the Bastards of the Orange River valley saw themselves as ‘swarthy Hollanders’ and in their behaviour there was a certain good-natured ostentation, a sort of vanity, which seemed to show that they considered themselves

as much superior to the rude Hottentots" (Lichtenstein, 1812:80 in Penn 2005; see also Legassick 1989:370-371).

Towards the end of the 18th century, however, "most of the Khoikhoi within the colony were working as labourers for white farmers. The best land within the winter rainfall area of the Cape was in the hands of white settlers and the Khoikhoi were only allowed onto it if they were prepared to serve their new owners" (Penn 2005: 143). For the Khoekhoe who continued to practice a pastoralist existence, they had to do so in marginal areas, "with declining stock, and on sufferance. They were, in most respects, a subject people obliged to accept the terms imposed upon them" (Penn 2005:143).

The historical texts make note of these contexts of interaction and we see this play out in the material record. There are a number of archaeological sites that express the processes of interaction – one such example is seen through the burial of the Vergelegen woman (Schrire 1988), the context of Oudepost (Schrire et.al 1993; Schrire 2008) and through the experience of the washer women and their performance of everyday resistance through the material culture of tea drinking and private conversation (Jordan 1995). The work of Hall & Mazel (2005) extended the dialogue around interaction through the framework of resistance as possibly expressed through the rock art of the Swartruggens. The context of seclusion has arguably been argued as the appropriate site and context 'to vent' for individuals who had been subjugated by the Cape colonial authorities. The use of rock art as a place of self-actualisation and resistance is further elaborated through the works of Campbell (1986); Ouzman (2005) through the discussion of the Koranna rock art as a space for intergroup alliances. Equally, the literature the rise of raider nations is further extended through the work of Challis (2013) is representative of the complex processes of interaction and resistance to colonialism. Studies that go into the economic contexts of households linked to indigenous identity groups however, remain largely under studied and the contexts of the Karoo

corbelled houses are particularly important in this instance as they likely represent a context of creolization – and the change and continuity of domestic space.

The economic independence of Khoe pastoralists and San hunter gatherers diminished during the later 18th and into the 19th century (Adhikari 2010; see also Campbell 1986; Ouzman 2005; Barnard 2008; Challis 2013). For Basters, moving further into the interior this meant that they could hold onto some economic liberty. At a familial level there was pressure for the Baster groups to legitimize themselves, Lichtenstein 1812 (in Penn 2005a) observed that, "white children of the colonists did not hesitate to make use of the right of the strongest and to drive their half yellow relations out of the places where they had fixed their abodes. These Bastaard Hottentots were then obliged to seek an asylum in the more remote Sak River, as they had from the Bokkerveld, nothing remained for them but to retreat to the Orange River" (Lichtenstein 1812 :304 in Penn 2005a). Baster identity was therefore born out of the early frontier interactions and additionally a consequence of violence that drove out the San. For Baster groups, moving into the interior was an escape from the pressures instituted by the VOC and the British and became a means of protecting their economic independence (Nell 2005).

An important caveat to keep in mind is that although there was mass dispossession which characterised this period, this dispossession went hand-in-glove with trade and intermarriage. For example, while the San were seen as villainous stock thieves, they were largely respected as rain makers by the Xhosa and other Nguni groups (Campbell 1986) and the Pondomise often sent tribute in the form of cattle to the San as an application for rain (Campbell 1986). In another instance, the Barends and Kok families (Basters) had established trading relations with the southern Tswana Tlhaping and the Rolong (Penn 2005a). Here, intermarriage was also common and, Thlaping chiefs married Kora women. One son of such a union lived with a Korana community and had confided to a missionary that he had grown suspicious of the

Tlhaping customs (Penn 2005a). I emphasise these examples to point out that this period was complex, intermarriage and cultural exchange affected individual and group identities and created opportunity for change, continuity and disavowal of identity.

In light of the rise of Basters in the Northern Cape, and the earlier discussion around the frontiers as regions of interaction, I present an example of another expression of the materiality of interaction through a Baster family from Williston. This was a family of two brothers, Cornelis and Adriann Van Wyk, who become the lease holders of Grootfontein farm near Williston. The farm has a series of boulders which are littered with engravings of wagons, and conflict between and within groups (see Lupuwana 2017 Appendix B). These engravings further reference rain animals such as rain bulls and depict women in domestic space in what Lupuwana (2017) has argued to be an initiation ritual. The engravings are adjacent to a main drainage in an area referred to as Bushmenskop and possibly are references to the female initiation rituals and the rain making rituals of Nama or Khoekhoen (Lupuwana 2017, see also Hoff 1969, 1997 and 1998). The presence of these engravings and the 1870 dates referencing the Van Wyk family occupation of the farm, is a commentary on how indigenous Khoekhoen beliefs were re-represented within the materiality of the 19th century where this region and many others in the Cape Colony were experiencing rapid industrialisation and social changes (see also Ouzman 2005; McGranaghan 2012, 2014, 2015).

What is even more compelling about the presence of these engravings is the presence of a corbelled house on the farm (Grootfontein), built by Adriann Van Wyk, and lived in by his family (Lupuwana 2017). Kramer also records a corbelled structure on Schuinshoogte having been built by two coloured men named Tiensjielings and Gedaanwek (Kramer 2012: 51). It is likely that these two-coloured men were of Baster descent as the terms have in some instances been used interchangeably. Another feature of these corbelled houses is

their relatively large size in comparison to the corbelled houses that pre-date the 1860s (Kramer 2012). If the rock art emphasised by Lupuwana (2017) shows links to Khoesan initiation and rainmaking rituals, the corbelled houses of the Karoo may also add another layer to the discussion around cultural change and continuity. This is because while the corbelled houses emerge out of interaction and are largely linked with the formation of Baster identity, the archival record also makes note of these houses being used by people of other cultural identities as the 19th century progressed. The links other groups might have with these structures are fascinating inquiries on identity, while the cultural links might be more challenging to get to, the social, class and hierarchical legacies of these structures are an important entry point into the discussion around identity and these structures.

In summary, the 18th century frontier produced a number of creole or hybrid identities, of which Baster's have been the focus here. The suggested correlation in the early 19th century between Basters, and corbelled structures was an emergent creole package literally solidifies pastoral dwelling within the new British land laws (Kramer 2012; Hancock 2013). As the 19th century progresses, the status of these structures changes and they begin to represent not just a cultural identity, but broadly define class identities. The links these structures have with class will be further discussed in Chapters Four and Five. While they are a product of interaction, in the 18th century, in the 19th century, these structures emerge and pass comment on changing social and economic dynamics in the Cape colony.

THE CORBELLED HOUSES OF GORRAS FARM: SETTING THE SCENE

The historical review has been selective for the purpose of an introduction to the social and cultural context within which corbelled houses were constructed. These corbelled houses are a product of interaction that includes conflict and contestation over land and emerge in the Roggeveld in the 1830s as the frontier closes in this region (Kramer 2012; Smuts 2012; Hancock 2013). Furthermore, they are a representation of the everyday domestic space and its intersection with social and political violence and the increasing marginalisation of indigenous descendent groups. Further to this, they are embedded within the coming of a new industrial age as the Cape is catapulted into the growing industrial global market.

Cultural entanglement and interaction during the Dutch loan farm period pushed the open frontier into the Roggeveld and deep into the Northern Cape (Legassick 1972, 1979; Penn 2005a). British changes to land access and ownership contributed to the progressive closure of the frontier (Baker 1958; Bundy 1986; Christopher 1971; Duly 1965; Guelke & Shell 1983). It is within this later context that corbelled houses are built. By this time the majority of rural Karoo dwellers of mixed and indigenous descent served as labourers on white farms. The question arising is what does this material expression of entanglement mean in the closed frontier of the later 19th century when there was limited opportunity for advancement as it related to Baster and Khoesan? Furthermore, what relation do the late 19th century corbelled houses have with the early 19th century historic and social dynamics? Are the late 19th century houses simply a residual memory or are they a representation of that continuing process of change and continuity?

Rural homes and identities are particularly important for tracing out the processes of change and continuity and the effect of the closing frontier on the rural poor. In light of the

experiences of the rural Cape frontier, the work of Anderson (1983); Zachariou (2013; 2017) and Moffett 2010), have been particularly useful in widening the scope of archaeological research related to the experiences of the underclass or the rural poor.

The work by Moffett (2010) on Schimmelfontein 1 and on two farm labourer middens from Schimmelfontein 2 and 3 explored the context of labourer's households associated with the wool boom of the middle of the 19th century. It explored the material context in which rural communities were integrated into the global trade of ceramics and goods. By the mid-19th century, the majority of goods found in rural farms directly came from the itinerant traders (smous). However, the advances in transportation and the creation of roads that connected the interior and the Cape as well as the creation of a reliable rail system shifts trade from the traveling salesmen and leads to the establishment of small-town general dealers.

The impact of large rural merchant companies was felt by the rural economies as they controlled, the entire chain of exchange from imported merchandise to rural producer to urban market, either owing to controlling through credit chains of rural stores in African areas (Moffett 2010; see also Jowel & Fold 2004). Jowel and Fold (2004) also note that commercial travellers and large merchant stores in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth like Jaggers and Co, became the main supply for small town traders around the country (see Moffett 2010). Given the standardisation of the supply chain during this period, the changes in rural household materiality are explored by Moffett (2010). One of the most important questions is how were workers and labourers supplied in comparison to the landowners?

Zachariou (2017), extends this study by Moffett (2010) using the Kerkplaats settlement which shifted its use from a mission station to a farm, where the occupation of this farm dates from the early 1830s well into the early 20th century. Zachariou (2017) outlines three stages of occupation. The first is the occupation by local Khoe, San and Griqua communities around

the London mission society through Kicherer's missionary outreach. The second is the transformation of the mission station from 1806 by sheep farms of German, Dutch and Baster descent up to the 1860s. In this second phase, Zachariou (2017) notes that these farmers absorbed British goods but older cultural practices and their materialities continued. The third phase of the occupation is from 1860, when there is a flood of mass-produced British goods. Critically, this goes hand-in-hand with the relocation of the main house and werf to a position on the road now linking the towns of Fraserburg and Williston.

At this stage, comparisons between these contexts requires much more detailed research. They are suggestive, but simply in the form of domestic dwelling they must be underpinned by a range of cultural backgrounds, and functional needs. Whilst at Gorras early structures are almost entirely corbelled houses, the structures from Schimmelfontein (both owner and labourers), and Kerkplaats are built and extended around rectangular base forms. Practically, the use of different building materials in the early settlement of both Schimmelfontein and Kerkplaats hint at different possibilities when compared to the corbelled Gorras structures. However, irrespective of the availability of building materials and the consequent control and limitations over building form, they possibly cannot be separated from deeper histories and cultural templates of dwelling and position in rural economies.

Gorras farm is halfway between the towns of Carnarvon and Williston (Fig 3.1) in an area where the frontier closed from 1860. There are four corbelled structures, and I use three to explore these questions. Smuts (2012) locates Gorras farm as one that falls within the 1860s/1870s date of being given a title deed although it is acknowledged that occupation on this farm very likely occurred pre-1860. After the 1860s Gorras 'shifted' from the margins to be fully enmeshed in the merino wool trade and ostrich feather production. The context of the farm being pulled into the greater workings of the colonial empire position the three corbelled houses as a substrate to explore the social relationships and the hierarchical class

relationships that might present themselves. I now turn to some further theoretical threads that underpin the interpretation of these forms, their sequence, their location within the farm, and the patterns of consumption as seen from the domestic debris of households.

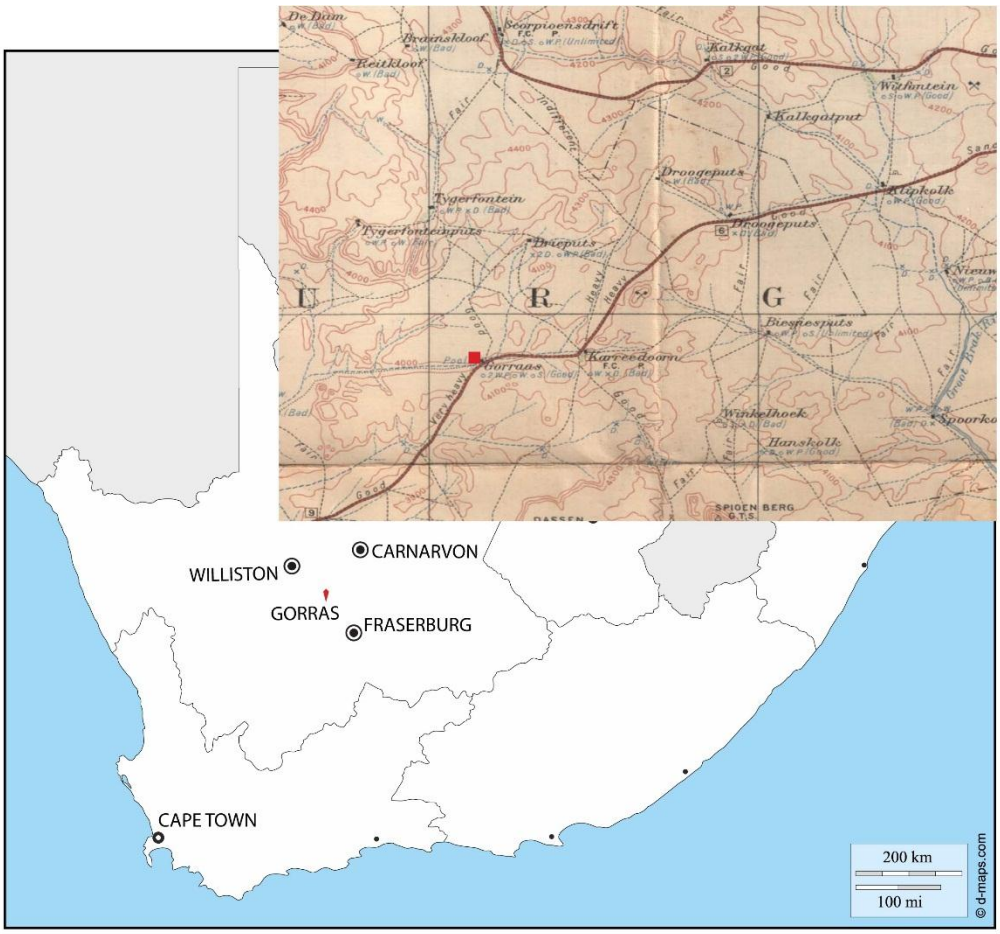

Figure 3. 1. A map dating to 1901of Gorras showing the old Williston to Carnarvon road running through the Gorras Farmyard extracted from the 1:250:000 map of Fraserburg 1911 with old wagon road (https://exhibits.stanford.edu/maps-of-africa/catalog/bs917gb7184; d-maps.com)

SOME CONCLUDING THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

If the later 19th century embeds race and class hierarchies, I am interested in how the location of these structures signal status and the social relationships between household and their economic aspirations. Positionality within space relates to individual and biographical relationships in a specific social context. Objects, places and individuals within social space are continuously communicating at a micro-scale and at a macro-scale (Bourdieu 1989; Gosden & Marshall 1999; Silliman 2002; Hoskins 2006; Joy 2009; Low 2011; Jensen 2011; Wilkins 2017). Within this 'conversation', the processes of political interaction are expressed, "empirically through disputes over, or manipulations of sites, and symbolically in the language of sites" (Kuper 1972:420-421). Given the power of space and place it is important to keep in mind that the objects that occupy space are not, "inert containers. They are politicised, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (Rodman 2003:2055, see also Jensen 2011). Therefore, I am interested in the possible social and political relationships represented and communicated by the positionality of the corbelled houses on Gorras farm.

Rodman (2003, Munn 1999) view space as a frame for action and that places and spaces and objects within space, can be seen as social actors, providing a "narrativity of space" (Rodman 2003:209). Therefore, within the narrativity of space, I explore the meaning of location, as a social position, supplemented by the architectural biographies of the corbelled houses, and consumption, from the associated middens debris. The built environment of corbelled houses, fences and kraals is in direct conversation with how furniture or movable objects become socially relevant, as architectural space changes. Therefore, the built environment acts as a meaningful constructed setting containing mnemonic prompts for behaviour (Hall 1969; Wilkins 2017).

As many have stated, the house is not a neutral space, and objects within it interact to structure the social lives and define a dwelling (Rapoport 1969; Bourdieu 1971; 1989; Deetz 1977; Rapoport 1990; Gell 1998; Knappett 2002; Layton 2005). The home embodies the very concept of kin and the coming together around a hearth. The experience of homelife within the structure of the house is the most intimate and human experience that unites all humans across different cultures and backgrounds (Allison 1998, 1999; Anderson 2004; Barile & Brandon 2004; Hendon 1996; Dooling 2009; Coolen & Meesters 2012; Hayden 2012; Lupuwana 2017; Lupuwana & Hall 2019). At the same time, the organization of the house and home is a marker of difference in terms of culture and social identity (Marc 1977; Bailey 1990; Waldman 2003; Oliver 2003; Mullins 2004, 2011; Lupuwana 2017).

Given the views expressed by Lightfoot & Martinez (1995) on frontiers as cross cutting spaces and the idea of how consumption enables agents to shape the meanings of things in the social world (Mullins 2004, 2011), the significance of the objects in the domestic space cannot be overemphasised. This is relevant to Gorras and the question of what cultural processes the interaction of space and things comment on in the later 19th century, when the structures, as the core of the dwellings, had their origins in the specific cultural dynamics of the open frontier?

While this chapter has briefly outlined the history of conflict and interaction, it has also outlined some theoretical threads around how objects mediate power relations. The conflicts that come out of the 18th century is about establishing power relations in response to shifting economic activities. The following chapter will outline the economic history as a further addition to the macro-scale history needed to contextualise the events on Gorras farm. A farm biography will then be detailed in Chapter Five followed by descriptions of the excavated material in Part Two of this thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

A BRIEF ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE CAPE COLONY IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY

The preceding chapters introduced the corbelled housing architecture of the Karoo as a material manifestation of frontier processes of interaction. They developed as a concept of dwelling that was initially 'built' around sheep pastoralism. Given the archival information gathered from the traveller's accounts as well as the chief surveyor records, the period of their construction ranges from the 1830s up until the mid to late 20th century (Walton 1989; Kramer 2012; Smuts 2012 and Hancock 2013). The literature review of corbelled houses, historical overview and the theoretical considerations outlined in the previous chapter, draws attention to the fact that this architecture type does not manifest arbitrarily outside of specific cultural, historical and economic contexts. Consequently, I have discussed the concept of frontier as it relates to its closing throughout the 19th century and reviewed some theoretical threads regarding space, places, the house and object biographies.

In this chapter I briefly outline the economic opportunities offered to the Karoo dwellers through the 19th century. As discussed, opportunities were not available to all as the frontier was closing, this was further compounded by dispossession and economic marginalisation. The corbelled houses are integral to this period and are an architecture type that is born of the new pastoral economies from the 1830s. An economic history of the Karoo is essential background within which the advent, development, spread, elaboration and functional demise of these structures, may be situated. An important issue through this period is the capacity to purchase land and the capacity to sustainably develop it.

It is within the 19th century that the earlier entanglements of the open frontier developed and out of which the identities of Oorlam, Bastaards and Griqua appeared. In the previous chapter I outlined the land laws put in place by the VOC and how they affected movement into the Northern frontier. I now discuss the British period specifically as it relates to the economic policies that launched the Cape into a new economic era.

THE BRITISH PERIOD

The British administration started in full in 1806. The land policies established by the VOC and new ones by the British provided new opportunities for some and marginalisation for others. A discussion of the 19th century economic developments provides a context in which the biography of Gorras, that follows in Chapter Five can be situated. Figure 4.1 provides a timeline of key events that frame the economic and social history. The British land policies were significant catalysts in the intensified alienation of Khoesan, Xhosa and Baster communities in the Northern Cape.

1806	British take over the Cape Colony
1809	Caledon Code [Restricting movement of Khoekhoen]
1812	Compulsory apprenticeship of Khoekhoen children aged between 8 -18
1820	Arrival of English settlers from the United Kingdom
1813-1827	Lord Cradock replaces Lord Caledon and puts in place a pertpertual quitrent land policy
1828-1830	Estimated date of when the Karoo corbelled houses first emerge (Kramer 2012)
1830	Merino wool production gathers pace
1834	Emancipation of slaves
1840	Drought
1847	Sir Harry Smith moves the Crowns border further north (placing a diverse range of people who were free from central governance under the rule of the British crown. This displaces a number Korana, Baster, Khoesan and Xhosa communities.)
1851	Establishment of Fraserburg as a Town
1853	Establishment of Williston (Amandelboom)and Carnarvon (Schietfontein) as towns
1857-1860	Ostritch feather production gathers pace
1862	Jankowitz brothers lease farm Gorras or 'De Gorras'
1867-1873	! Kora war
1870	Opening of diamond fields in Kimberley
1873	Drought
1873	JDC Jankowitz requests refund on lease of Gorras
1878	Gorras farm is sold to J van Wyk
1878	Severe drought
1880	Opening of gold fields in the Transvaal
1895-1896	Jameson raid
1899-1902	South African war/ Second Anglo-Boer war
1910	Formation of the Union of South Africa
1913	Natives Land Act
1934	The bywoner rehabilitation laws

Figure 4. 1. Illustration of Important Periods.

From the early 19th century an intensification of a pastoralist economy was ushered in by the introduction of new land policies. For many Trek Boers the impetus to move further inland away from the Cape for more independence was driven by excessive control by the VOC in the 18th century. However, while the VOC had less interest in managing territory in

the interior, the British increased their presence in the interior and made it difficult for individuals to carve out an independent existence free from their legal gaze.

The introduction of merino wool sheep that was encouraged by the arrival of the 1820 settlers in the Eastern Cape facilitated increased movement into the Northern Cape (Ross 1983, 1986; Anderson 1985). This period catapulted the Cape colony into a commercialised and fast industrialising era. The imperatives for commercialisation and industrialisation needed strong backing in the terms of private land ownership. While the freehold and loan farm system facilitated land access through annual rent paid, the perpetual quitrent changed things. I discuss its implications in the sections that follow. The British period meant increased access to the global wool and ostrich feather markets. Furthermore, the discovery of diamonds and gold increased the value of the Cape Colony to outside investors and it signalled a period of prosperity for some farmers. Coupled with this was the development of towns in the rural outskirts and the complete side lining of Baster and Xhosa land interests. The economic implications of these events are discussed in the sections that follow.

THE PERPETUAL QUITRENT

After the British annexation in 1806 there were three administrative periods that shaped the land policy. The first was implemented by the second Earl of Caledon, Du Pre Alexander who asserted the rights of the Crown over the colony (Duly 1965; Smuts 2012). The Earl was opposed to the VOC loan farm system because it did not take into account the quality of the land being loaned, and, the method used to determine the size of the loan farm was arbitrary (Baker 1958; Duly 1965; Christopher 1971; Dubow 1982; Guelke & Shell 1983; Smuts 2012:32). Despite his attempts, the Earl did not manage to change the system. One significant piece of legislation he did put in place was the Caledon Code of 1809 that limited the movement of Khoekhoe and required them to be tied to a landrosty or a mission station.

Effectively, this could be seen as an early form of the pass law (Penn 2005a). While the law stipulated that Khoe pastoralists could report their masters for ill-treatment, and protected their freedoms, Penn (2005a), notes that the Caledon code was one of the first harbingers of a closing frontier. It reinforced the labourer status of Khoe and affirmed the master status of Trek Boer farmers. While these communities had accessed the landscape freely over the centuries, they were soon dispossessed from accessing the land for subsistence production (Penn 1986)

This first step in alienation compromised transhumant pastoralism that depended on skilfully moving the sheep on this landscape seasonally (Penn 2005a). Although the Caledon code applied directly to the Khoe, it also affected other transhumant groups who also had to be linked to missions or a landrosty. The Code relegated these groups to a life of perpetual servitude because Khoekhoen who were not resident at missions or in colonial service, were illegal vagrants and subject to violence and punishment (Penn 2005a).

The Code legitimised racial and territorial violence on the frontier and sanctioned Commando acts of genocide against the San and other mobile or transhumant groups. The Code eroded indigenous independence but bolstered white claims to land. Moreover, the protection the code gave to indigenous people, coupled to the abolition of slavery in 1834 added to the acrimonious relationship between the settlers and the British administration, as the code was seen as undermining settler interests (see Penn 2005a).

The second period of British land administration was introduced by Cradock who took over from Caledon. He was greatly influenced by the British agricultural revolution and wanted to change the VOC tenure system from its feudalistic structure (Smuts 2012). Duly (1965) argues that Cradock completely ignored the existing state of agricultural affairs in the early 19th century and that the linguistic and cultural distance between Cradock's plans for land

tenure and the experience of pastoralist farms on the ground also did not help. Cradock then put forward a modified perpetual quitrent system that would assess the quality of the land and its location and that would encourage the Trek Boer to be a responsible and respectable landowner (Duly 1965). Cradock considered the transhumant lifestyle entirely problematic and he wanted to move the colony towards more privatised use of land (Duly 1965; see Duly 1965:361 for more details on the perpetual quitrent). His policy, however, did little to challenge the status quo except that each farm would now be properly surveyed at the expense of the occupant and then the diagram would be registered with the deeds office (Miller & Pope 2000).

However, the practical and administrative skill of the colony's surveyors and local land councils was poor, and this ushered in the third land administrative period for the Cape when Charles D'Escury was charged with proper scientific land survey. Between 1813 up until his forced departure in 1827, he was to assist in the administration of the Cradock proclamation. The requirement was that farmers convert their leases to a perpetual quitrent and that a landowner could not possess new property whilst possessing a farm under the old loan farm policy (Duly 1965; Smuts 2012). The process was slow and there were several pieces of land that were already occupied but un-surveyed.

The D'Escury period was poorly managed; many farmers had applied to convert their farms to a perpetual quitrent, but there was a significant backlog. The applicants for perpetual quitrent also suffered in the wait as the yearly average to granted applications was less than 130 out of over 1000 applications. Confusion and negotiation ensued over rights to property because while applicants had paid the expense for surveying, they were yet to receive a formal title deed. It was not until 1829 that the Cape Land Board began to function properly. In 1830, the new office of land administration discovered more than 4500 applications bearing dates from 1812 up until 1828 on which no final action had been taken

by the government. (Duly 1965; Miller & Pope 2000). D'Escury's administration was so slow that the conversion process would need another "sixty more years to dispose of the remaining applications on hand by 1825" (Duly 1965:365-366). At this point it is worth noting that Kramer (2012), on her evidence suggests that the first corbelled structures were built from 1830 (see Fig 4.1). She does not, however, draw a correlation between the change in land tenure and the corbelled structure innovation.

Parallel to these policies playing out, Commando violence continued as the enforcer of Boer economic claims on the frontier (Penn 1986; Penn 2005a). The Commandos also affected indigenous pastoral land practices and their links to the landscape. Despite being forced off the land there was continuity of indigenous beliefs and practices. This has been observed in the rock art of the Northern Cape which straddles both the precolonial and the colonial world. The importance of place and landscape has ritually been linked to Khoesan cosmology (see Bleek and Lloyd 1911; Deacon 1988; Challis 2012; McGranaghan 2012, ,2015,2016; Lupuwana 2017). This continuing violence deep into the 19th century and its juxtaposition with ritual and cosmological memory is also best represented by the rock art from the Langberg, close to Gorras (see also Waldman 2003; Challis 2012; McGranaghan 2012, 2015, 2016; Lupuwana 2017). It is within this context that there was a clash of perceptions – the ritual and communal versus mercantile capitalist ambitions. Largely the contestations within this period are a direct result of the different ways of seeing, using and living on the landscape. (Giliomee 1981; Penn1986).

THE WOOL BOOM AND CONTESTED LAND

Fast on the heels of British land reform came the wool boom of 1830s that significantly affected the economies of the Northern Cape (Noble 1875; Beinart 2003; Tamarkin 2009; Lilja 2013). Merino sheep had been introduced into the Eastern Cape and Northern Cape. In the case of the Northern Cape, it transformed the seemingly marginal areas of the

Karoo into desirable and economically productive land. Wool farming progressively became the economic mainstay of the colony and allowed entry into the global markets and really took hold of the Northern Cape in the 1850s (Beinart 1998:17; Tamarkin 2009). Wool production displaced wine and wheat in the overall GDP of the Cape (Ross 1986).

The wool industry signified a change in opportunity as it meant that Trek Boer society and other pastoral groups were effectively being plugged into a global enterprise. The wool boom accelerated the movement further into the Northern Cape and transformed the possibilities of the landscape into a wool hub, which although had been dominant on the Eastern frontier soon rose to importance in the mid-late 19th century in the Northern frontier. This movement was facilitated by the British land tenure system, and the purchase of farms became competitive, and marginalised those without capital (see Fig 2.3). The number of sheep in the colony jumped from about 1.5 million in 1806 to about 5 million by 1855 (Beinart 2003), by 1875 the number of wool-bearing sheep had increased to approximately 10 million (Noble 1875; Regensberg 2016).

The areas of Amandelboom (Williston), Schietfontein (Carnarvon) and Calvinia experienced tension in the mid to late 1800s with conflict ensuing between merino wool and subsistence pastoral economies (Strassberg 1969; Herbst 2004). The tension between subsistence farming and the rapid shift towards commercialised wool production was also legislatively facilitated by limiting the use of the land for agricultural crops (Penn 1986; Lupuwana 2017). Although the wool boom signalled periods of prosperity, there were multiple droughts throughout the 19th century that affected profitability that was also affected by market forces. Those with capital could lease or own multiple farms in different areas in order to reduce the risk of the dry seasons and droughts, however, those without the capital soon found themselves unable to raise the capital needed to compete in the wool market.

Furthermore, increasing anxieties over land ownership continued to be felt. Key events that mark the closing frontier in the region around and over the Karreberg mountains are the frontier wars and the movement into Bushmansland. In the areas closer to Carnarvon and Williston, the forces of a closing frontier can be seen through the contestation over the land around Amandelboom (Williston) and Schietfontein (Carnarvon). Both Baster and Xhosa communities were being edged out of these areas, so that the missions become key allies for the Black and Coloured communities in this region. For example, the Rhenish mission managed to secure about 9,000 morgen of land for the Baster community in Amandelboom (Strassberger 1969; Lupuwana 2017).

Regarding Schietfontein, although the region was predominantly Xhosa, the Zak River Basters had also moved into this area because of the drought of 1839. There was quite a great deal of disunity between and among the Xhosa and the Basters. Intergroup tensions mounted and in the case of the Xhosa and Basters , "there were frequent quarrels over marriages, dwelling places, cultivation and grazing rights" (Anderson 1985: 72; see also Strassberger 1969:79-80; 1/BFW 9/57, C. Alheit to Civil Commissioner, 29 April 1894 (it should read 1848); Anderson 1985; Zachariou 2013). The Rhenish mission through Reverend Alheit had attempted to acquire land for the Xhosa as it had for the Basters of Amandelboom, but they had failed to do so as there was growing anti-Xhosa sentiment in the Pramberg and Schietfontein. The Pramberg and Schietfontein were contested parcels of land by the Xhosa and the arriving white stock farmers.

The encroachment of Trek Boers into Bushmansland also resulted in a further edging out of non-white communities and there were numerous reports of violent clashes with 'Bushmen' (Dooling 2009: 403). The region most affected by this conflict spread across the districts of Calvinia, Fraserburg and Victoria West to the Gariep. Reports of 'Bushmen' being 'exterminated' in the region were being sent through to colonial administrators. Along with

the Baster and Xhosa conflicts with white farmers, the Bushmen conflicts and !Kora wars the politics of this time grew increasingly racialised (Dooling 2009). In 1867, a full-scale war broke out between the Korana (!Kora) and the Trek Boers, and the "!Kora were able to launch raiding strikes as far as 250 miles into the northern districts of the colony" (Dooling 2009:404). After one of the !Kora leaders Piet Rooy was captured and placed in prison there was quite a bit of resistance and efforts to help him escape from prison in Fraserburg. The conflict during this period forced many farmers in the northern parts of the districts of Fraserburg, Calvinia and Victoria West to abandon their farms, the driving force of these tensions being the need to secure land and resources (Dooling 2009:404).

Furthermore, "increasingly, the Bushmen and even 'Bastaards' previously loyal to the colonial government made common cause with the !Kora; in October 1867, a group of about ten Bushmen entered Kenhardt, cursing and swearing, and prepared to shoot anyone opposing them" (Dooling 2009:404). War broke out and, in its aftermath, which coincided with the drought of 1873 there were a number of colonial farmers, merchants and traders as well as Baster families that moved into !Kora territory. This move would be a foundation stone for future conflict as the severe drought of 1878 would prove to be a powder keg too (Dooling 2009). A lot of blood was shed during this period and there were increased periods of low-level conflict. The aftermath of the frontier war with the !Kora saw a large number of !Kora and Bushmen forced into servitude through violence (Dooling 2009:406). Between 1878-1879 an excess of 800 people was taken captive and put to work on farms in the districts of Calvinia, Clanwilliam and Beaufort West (Dooling 2009).

Towards the end of the 19th century both Schietfontein and Amandelboom became predominantly white as the anti-Xhosa sentiments also extended towards Baster communities. An example of this, seen in the Amandelboom fountain debacle, was a letter from the Amandelboom erfholders committee asking for stricter regulations regarding the use

of fountains. A follow up letter had gone on to complain about how some Baster herders had turned one of the fountains into a tar pit. The sentiments expressed in this letter were problematic and 'othering' (Lupuwana 2017) and they further emphasised the growing class and racial stratification.

As highlighted above, the second half of the 19th century was ravaged by droughts that depleted livestock. For the small-scale stock farmer these shocks meant they could hardly recover from the extreme weather situations. One example of this is noted in a communication by an MCJ Jancowitz, who had requested that he be granted a reprieve in his annual rent payment, as he could hardly put food on the table of his family. A report back from the commissioner after a failed rent payment, notes that he had gone to the diamond fields so as to improve his financial situation. However, he died soon after this and the fate of his family can only be assumed to have been unfortunate (CO 4157-101).

GLOBAL MARKETS OF FRIVOLITY -THE OSTRICH BOOM

In addition to merino wool trade, ostrich farming also gained some economic importance. It started in the years between 1857 and 1860 through the catching of wild birds and keeping them in camps (Beyleveld 1967). Gorras farm and other farms like it in the Northern Cape are characterised by stone wall pens (Fig 4.2) built to enclose ostrich nesting habitats along small drainages and rivers. In the areas of Williston, Fraserburg and Carnarvon, ostrich feather 'farming' was a welcome supplement to the merino wool industry. The success of the feather industry in the Eastern Cape had inspired the Northern Cape farmers to follow suit, and the combination of merino wool farming and ostrich feather production spread economic risk in the face of drought and global markets. The importance of the ostrich feather trade for the Cape economy is often overshadowed by the merino wool boom and the subsequent diamond and gold rushes (Farnie 1956; Wilson 2001).

Figure 4. 2. Front facing view of Gorras IV with ostrich pen walls that abut the back.

The rich history of the ostrich feather boom highlights its importance in shaping the Karoo economies in response to the forces of European fashion. Trek Boers and Baster farmers hoped that the feather boom would bring economic success, although, as is the case in the fashion industry, fashion is cyclical and what is fashionable on one day might not be on the next. It is not surprising that for some farmers the investment in the feather trade led to their downfall as seen in the sale of the extravagant feather boom mansions in the Eastern Cape and the Midlands-Karoo (Douglass 1881).

In the case of Gorras, the history of the farm shows that it was an attractive purchase to an aspiring farmer. The Jankowitz's who are the first documented occupants of the farm were of Jewish descent. The archive also makes note of the importance of Jewish businessmen from Lithuania in this trade, as these traders secured buyers for the feathers and assisted in the final processes of auction in the production chain (Stein 2007a, 2007b; Shain 2011). Furthermore, Jewish traders were central to building the capacity to supply the United Kingdom, Europe and the United States of America with ostrich feathers (Belling 1997; Mendelsohn & Shain

2008; Boum & Bonine 2015). The frivolity of the fashion industry catapulted some Karoo land holders into a rich mercantile age.

Although very few data exist on the extent of the feather trade in the late 19th century, it has been estimated that, "nearly a million pounds of ostrich feathers, valued at roughly 2.6 million pounds, yield[ed] the largest gross income for ostrich feathers yet seen" (Stein 2007). However, although seemingly lucrative the feather boom was risky because the market was volatile and was readily affected by changing tastes and hence there were multiple periods of boom and bust during the 1870 - 1914 period (Keegan 1979, 1989, 2014).

There were many invitations to enterprising youths interested in joining the global market and reaping the rewards of the feather boom (Douglass 1881). The global and local impact of the feather boom to the Crown and its colonies has been understated. It linked two incongruous worlds, the farmers in the rural outskirts of the Karoo with the fashion houses of Paris, Milan, London and New York (Stein 2007; see also Van Sittert 2002). Its importance as a source of revenue to the Cape farmers is seen through a dispatch sent to the secretary of state in London with the bold request that the Crown encourage and subsidise the feather industry in the Cape colony (GH /LEER/1/441/109; GH/LEER/1/413/143). These farmers had seen the potential of the market but were also experiencing downturns in profitability. As the British Banks had investments in the colony, such requests were aimed at encouraging the benevolence of the Empire.

Douglass (1881) in his book that recorded the development of ostrich farming in South Africa lays out realistic expectations in a fickle market. Douglass himself had profited significantly from the feather boom (had gone on and invented the 'eclipse ostrich egg incubator') and writes from the perspective of an experienced feather trader. In his encouragement

to incoming British youths he urges them to work hard citing how difficult the feather industry was (Douglass 1881). Just as the purchase of farms and the development of the wool industry required capital, ostrich feather production also required a significant capital investment without a promise of return in profit in the first year (Douglass 1881; Stein 2007).

Capital was, "in the money invested in his stock, and knowledge of Cape farming generally, and the management of birds; the latter being the most important" (Douglass 1881:25). For a start the cost of a trading permit was £5-6, and a £100 minimum was a rough estimate of what was one needed in the first year (Douglass 1881). It must be remembered that feather farming was often an addition to merino wool production, where a farmer might have already invested £5000 to £10000 to start wool farming. Feather production required additional capital for improvements, especially fencing.

On Gorras for example, stone walls were the choice fence type adopted. Stone walls were expensive to build, "the usual price for quarrying the stone and packing the wall is 6d.per yard, and usually include[ed] the men loading the stone on and off the wagon, the farmer finding a wagon and oxen, also [the] leader and driver, who [would] assist with the loading and off-loading. The wear and tear to the wagon and oxen [was] great, and if the stone [had] to be ridden any considerable distance it [would] put another shilling a yard on the cost of the wall" (Douglass 1881:40).

This meant that those who wanted to see an immediate return of capital were foolhardy as the investment on fencing would be extensive and yield no return during the first year (Douglass 1881). It is likely that the Jankowitz brothers had significant capital, enough to invest on the stone walling on Gorras. Whether this was a worthwhile investment or something that contributed to their not being able to continue to lease the farm or acquire a title deed is

something to be examined in Chapter Five. Significant capital and patience were needed to forgo profit in the first year of development. Additionally, even after establishment, market fluctuations threatened profit, particularly between 1886 and 1896 when shifts in fashion caused the value of the ostrich feathers to plunge by 75% (Stein 2007).

The success of the ostrich market in Oudtshoorn gave the impression that it would be equally profitable elsewhere. However, while Oudtshoorn rainfall was lower than other regions in the Karoo, the soil was rich and dark and good enough to grow lucerne for sheep winter fodder. Additionally, tobacco farming in this region was also a very successful enterprise (Goodfellow 1931). This was not the case in the Karoo as the region experienced extreme droughts and had low quality soils. However, despite the losses that came from the downturns in the ostrich boom, the value of the ostrich trade effectively raised the value of the land in the Karoo. Consequently, land changed hands during these periods, and new farmers with capital purchased land in different districts.

In summary, ostrich feather production was risky because of the fickle markets. It continually did bring economic reward for some Karoo farmers, but without capital to sustain downturns in the market, it was a risky business. It was precisely these factors and conditions that played out in the early history of Gorras in the 1860s. I return to this in Chapter Five.

EVANGELICAL PURSUITS AND MISSIONARY PRESENCE: TOWNS ON THE MARGINS: WILLISTON, FRASERBERG AND CALVINIA

The increased missionary presence in the Karoo was initiated by the change in administration. The London Mission Society's active presence in the colony led to even more mission activity by a number of other denominations. The German and English missionary presence was particularly felt during the British empire's period of rule. The VOC had no interest in ministering spiritually to the local inhabitants, but the British established early missions with hope of converting the San (see Penn 2005; Zachariou 2017).

The London mission society was one of the first to do this (Penn 2005; Zachariou 2017). Obviously, missionaries were there to convert and to erode and replace indigenous values and beliefs and functioned as a cultural stronghold bent on 'civilising' indigenous communities. For example, the Rhenish missions in Amandelboom and Schietfontein focused on 'civilising' the Khoesan and the Xhosa. This functioned at the very basic level of encouraging Victorian sensibilities in the form of dress and domestic practices (Bradlow 2009; Strassberger 1969; Ross 1990; Ross 1999; Ruether 2002; Mitchell 2007; Lupuwana 2017). Additionally, mission stations played a central role in reshaping the administrative fabric of the Northern Frontier landscape. The missions established at Amandelboom, Fraserburg and Schietfontein led to the formal establishment of towns in these regions with Amandelboom being formally established in 1853, Fraserburg in 1851 and Schietfontein in 1853. The town infrastructure was a necessary means of bringing in clothing, food and material culture of Victorian tastes. The nodes of commerce instituted by the development of roads, general stores and local magistrates were essential for farms like Gorras. These towns provided the infrastructure that facilitated the local link between wool and feather production and the wider markets.

For example, through the implementation of magistrates and town commissions, such as the Amandelboom Erfholders Committee, a body of citizens could motivate for more infrastructural development from the government. Towns went hand-in-hand with "improvement of transportation, both coastal shipping and newly built roads across mountain passes, [and] encouraged the spread of market oriented agriculture, as opposed to [subsistence] pastoralism, in many areas where this had previously been impossible" (Ross 1986:66). This included obviously an intensification in the degree and the speed in communication (CA 4112 V 23; see Fig 4.3 for map regarding proposed telegraph service requested for by Rev. Alheit of the Rhenish mission). The request for more efficient telegraph

communications underpins the impact of industrialisation, and the importance of linking rural communities (Fig 4.3, see also CA 4112 V 23).

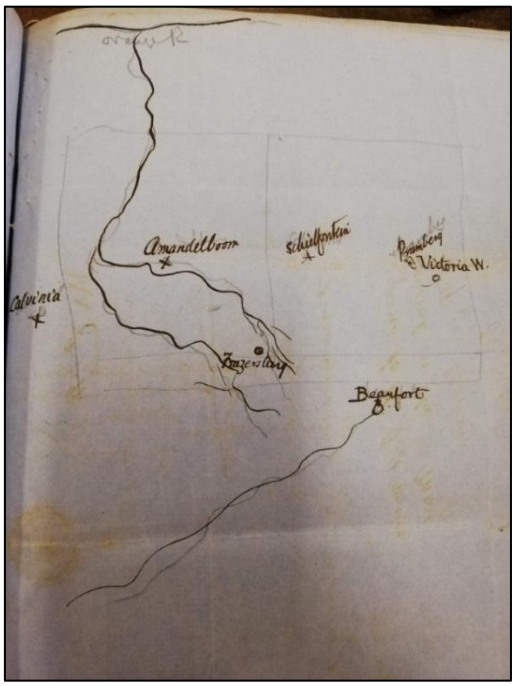

Figure 4. 3. Map for proposed telegraph service drawn by Reverend Alheit of Amandelboom (CA 4112 V 23).

These towns further saw a shift from a reliance on itinerant trade of the smous to meet rural demand to a reliance on to the general dealer stores which overtook smous traders as the choice supply stop for town residents and farmers (Jackson 1958; Jowell & Fold 2004; see also Moffett 2010; Zachariou 2017). As the shift from subsistence to commercial pastoralism occurred a critical synergy between farms and towns grew (Jackson 1958; Ross 1986; Zachariou 2017; see also Backhouse 1884:503).

The diamond rush to the Northern Cape and the gold rush to the Reef further intensified road and rail links between Cape Town and the interior. The diamond rush increased the value of the Cape as a colony in the eyes of the Crown. The foreign investment in transport facilities supported the expansion of the mining industry (De Kock 1924:108; Farnie 1956; Wilson 2001). As some farms failed due to the peaks and booms in the merino wool and

feather trade, some farmers headed to the diamond fields. Through the force of the Cape Spring wagonettes the small wagon roads linked up farms, cities and people. This same wagon road that leads up to Kimberly runs through the main road of Gorras (Fig 3.1). Rail transportation developed rapidly across the Karoo as it became an important means of goods distribution. By 1884 the railway line reached Beaufort West and by 1885 it reached Kimberly (De Kock 1924). The opening of these railways effectively doubled merino wool production (Archer 2000).

RURAL ENCLOSURE

The change in the land management system during the transition from the Dutch loan farm period to the British title deed land tenure system started a process of 'regimenting' the landscape. Coupled with the increasing shifts towards commercial wool farming, farm boundaries were quickly asserted, and sheep were more intensively managed within single farms. This commercial regimentation, coupled to further Trek Boer encroachment, hastened the physical and ideological marginalization of indigenous people of Khoesan descent. The addition of ostrich feather production contributed to the rectangularity of the landscape with the addition of further camps for their management.

The commercial formalisation of the landscape was fully realised with the passing of the fencing acts of 1880 and 1913 and enclosure was the last defining act of creating individual space for farmed landowners. These boundaries were both physical and symbolic in that they made statements about directing space, and statements about possession and exclusion (Van Sittert 2002:96). Fencing became a means of dealing with what was seen as decadent and unscientific sheep farming practices, ensuring that grazing was controlled with the internal rotation of animals (Van Sittert 2002:97; see also Tamarkin 2009).

Controlling the landscape would additionally, psychologically secure the capital of settler farmers given their tenuous, "links to both the land and the market …imperilled by subdivision, lease, mortgage, debt and drought" (Van Sittert 2002:97), and predation by carnivores, and stock thieves (Van Sittert 1998). Fencing was an economic move that demarcated the property of landowners, whilst also creating the opportunity to signal and restrict access to the property.

The fencing bill although suggested in 1872, was only passed in 1880, because of objections to the cost, the implementation of government subsidies facilitated the passing of the fencing act in 1880. The impact of enclosure for the wool economy resulted in a +32-percentage increase in the wool sheep yield, and a +42-percentage increase in the Angora goat (mohair) yield (Van Sittert 2002: 117, see also Table 2 in Van Sittert 2002:117). Fencing eased unexpected stock losses and protected stock from the volatile forces of nature and men. This allowed for, the manipulation of the environment that raised the productivity of the land and the commercial pursuit of profit (Van Sittert 1998; 2002: 117-118). The fencing act coincided with introduction of wind pump technology into the Northern Cape, which also increased the productivity of the landscape, because sheep could be kept in camps centred on wind pumps and water troughs, but not without impact, and degradation of biodiversity in the Karoo (Archer 2000).

THE FRONTIER CLOSES: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

In this last section, I summarise the main economic factors and developments through the 19th century. This summary is at a broad scale but is relevant to the more specific scale of Gorras and its history that I address in the following chapter. This concluding discussion mostly addresses the economic history in the second half of the 19th century and introduces other events, relevant to local farming that mark the full closure of the frontier. The best-

known events that characterise this are the development of diamond and gold mining as well as the South African war. I discuss the development of these events as they relate to the reimagining of rural economies at the end of the South African war up to the development of the Bywoner rehabilitation policies.

With respect to these key developments that have been highlighted in the preceding sections through the changes in the land tenure system introduced by the British through the 1820s, the conditions for the purchase of land and procurement of a title deed were created resulting in an intensified movement into the North and increased competition for land and resources. The 1830s also saw the cementing of the merino wool trade as a viable economic option. Many farmers in what had been characterised as the outskirts of the frontier readily accepted the new opportunities offered by the merino wool boom. Karoo agricultural practice started to shift from a relative economic backwater, based on subsistence pastoralism, towards desirable land that would support wool farming (Beinart 2009; Lilja 2013). This saw more migration further into the north by those who sought to capitalise on this opportunity and some who sought to distance themselves from the direct control of the British administration.

It is in this 1830 period when the land laws shift and the economic viability of the landscape changes that the Karoo corbelled dwelling structures start to be built (Kramer 2012; 2017; Smuts 2012; Hancock 2013; 2018). The correlation is instructive because, compared to the early VOC loan farm period, the corbelled houses, despite their limited physical capacity, potentially underpin greater investment in domestic permanence. As pastoralists practice shifts toward the more intensive management of sheep within farms, and the expansive transhumance contracts, the appearance of the corbelled structures literally marks the land with greater permanence and a practice of sedentism that reflects that contraction and the shift towards increasing wool production.

As the 19th century progressed, within the 1850 and 1860 period, possession of land increasingly became racialised with several policies and interjections that limited the ownership of land by non-whites, the case of Schietfontein (Carnarvon) and the Pramberg are examples of how this manifested (Strassberger 1969; Anderson 1985; Zachariou 2013; Lupuwana 2017). In the region between Fraserburg, Williston and Carnarvon, ownership or possession of land for Baster and Xhosa communities was largely mediated by the missionary presence. In the case of Williston which had a predominantly Baster community, 50 land claim applications were put in with only 4 of those 50 being approved. In the case of Carnarvon (Schietfontein), predominantly comprised of Xhosa speakers, all the applications for land were denied as motivated by racial prejudice against ownership of land by black pastoralists (Strassberger 1969; Lupuwana 2017).

By this period Baster, Khoesan descendants and Xhosa speakers were largely employed as labourers, only a few still maintained a relative degree of financial independence, the Van Wyks (of Baster decent) of Grootfontein being an example of such farmers. The ownership of land was therefore stratified along racial lines which meant by the close of the 19th century race represented capital means. Although the missionaries were a large help to some of the Baster and Xhosa pastoralists, their assistance had a minimal impact on the increasing alienation from the land and dispossession. The presence of the missions, however, was a catalyst that led to the development of these small towns, Williston and Carnarvon being direct products of the missionary presence. The establishment of these towns led to the development of regional infrastructure seen through roads, transport and postal services.

Underpinning these developments of the rural landscape was the intensification of a rural agricultural economy based upon merino wool and ostrich feather production. The economic records of the Cape show that between 1825 and 1831 there was a drastic decline

in wine exports and that the economy was starting to be actively driven by the merino wool trade (Greyling & Verhoef 2015). As Greyling & Verhoef (2015) note, it is within this period from the 1850s that the Cape rural economy matured around the wool boom, but as noted above in relation to Basters this was increasingly structured around racial lines (see also Lilja 2013). Therefore, while the merino wool trade meant that more economic opportunities for social advancement were opening, they largely became unattainable to the Baster, Khoesan and Xhosa communities.

Despite the growing importance of both wool and ostrich feathers as export commodities in the 1850s, it must be noted that booms in the demand for these commodities were interspersed with busts. Several factors contributed to this, first, export was vulnerable and dependent upon global markets and the fashion industry; second, the vulnerability of the Karoo to episodes of drought affected the quality of the product and their consequent capital return. Third, there were periods of recession which were tied to the over-speculation of the diamond rush from the 1860s and 1870s, and it is this over-speculation in diamonds that led to an over extension of credit by banks leading to a further depression in the markets (Farnie 1956; Wilson 2001; Gillespie & Schupp 2002). The final factor which had an adverse impact on the GDP of the Cape was the South African war which led to a prolonged post-war depression between the years 1902 and 1909 (Gillespie & Schupp 2002; Greyling & Verhoef 2015: 35-39). These last two points introduce new factors in the economic history of the Karoo and mark the complete economic closure of the Cape frontier.

As noted above, the wool and feather production industries were vulnerable and consequently prosperity and economic success based on these exports and markets was cyclic (Greyling & Verhoef 2015). For example, there were significant droughts between 1862 and 1864, which negatively impacted agricultural production. Additionally, this conspired with other factors and saw a significant turnover in the cancellation of leases and re-lease and purchase of farms

between 1860 and 1870. Examples of such farms are Gorras and the neighbouring farms of Grootfontein, Moordenaarsgat and Banksfontein to mention a few (see Lupuwana 2017). This downturn I mention here is particularly important to the farm Gorras and I return to this point in the following chapter. In the case of Gorras, and other such farms, the depression meant that farmers who had made significant changes and improvements to their properties found themselves unable to bid an auction price worth the high value of the property or unable to continue paying rent if they decided to continue leasing the property. Some farmers received a relatively low sum for improvements made and thus lost part of their capital investment (Lupuwana 2017). Quite significantly, a recovery in the market meant that other farmers quickly swept in and purchased farms that had received quite a number of improvements at the fraction of the price. The wool crisis of the 1860s led to rural stratification [within the white population] and it is within this period that a number of 'poor whites' or 'bywoners' came about (Bundy 1986; Lilja 2013).

Although there was recovery period in the 1870s, a further depression marked the 1881 to 1886 period, "insolvencies rose from 259 in 1880 to 1000 in 1883 and remained in excess of 700 every year between 1884 and 1886. Unsound banking practices resulted in heavy loses to the banks. Discounts of the Cape banks declined from from £10,536,000 in 1881 to £3,000,000 in 1887. The severity of the depression was exacerbated by a modest recession in Europe and the USA, which ended in a full depression until 1886. Less British capital flowed into the region, and conditions were exacerbated by a drought between 1883 and 1886" (Greyling and Verhoef 2015:33-34, see also Lilja 2013: 43). This is significant as despite these factors, it appears there was no documented financial strain experienced by the owners of Gorras post 1873. Lilja (2013) emphasises the fact that by 1875 the wool price peaked, thereafter, as noted, the 1881 up to 1886 period saw a dramatic drop in wool prices and the price never returned to previous levels. This signalled a closing of the wool market's

prosperity for all, as it meant that not all farmers would be guaranteed a capital return and investment accumulation.

As the Cape Colony's position changed with the diamond and gold discoveries, the value of the Cape grew. However, as noted in the previous sections, this was not the case for all who endeavoured to participate in the economy. Through the growing commercialisation of the agricultural industry, the 19th century creates race and class barriers that are manifest through clothes, objects, houses, religion and politics. These tensions ultimately reach their peak in the late 1890s and the economic and social pressures collide and manifest in the outbreak of the South African War. The South African War in the context of economics needs to be understood through the shifting interest shown by the British over the Cape, through the early 19th century. Previously the Crown's land administration of the Cape had been detached but, the mid-to-late 19th century shows a shift in British foreign policy regarding the Cape. Perhaps this was largely spearheaded by the scramble for Africa. The South African War was largely an economic war, influenced by the growing importance of the once marginal interior (Lumby 1990; Shearing 2005; Wagner 2018). The Jameson raid was one of the trigger points of the war and I argue that the economic imperatives of the war drove both the British and the Boer armies (Dooling 2009). This war effectively shifted the scales and cemented the fact that the balance of power had completely shifted and the growing racial stratification and segregation of the 19th century came to be a mainstay of the colony from the late 19th into the 20th century (Dedering 2000; Badsey 2007; Dooling 2009).

The end of the South African War was when the frontier completely closed. Another depression followed the end of the war and, as there had been a growth in the number of bywoners in the previous depression period, policies of the 1930s were effectively aimed at providing relief to poor whites (Bundy 1986; Seekings 2008; Bottomley 2016, 2017).The implications of closure on Baster, Xhosa and Khoesan descendant groups meant that the

majority were relegated to a labourer status. With limitations on how many morgen could be owned by Black people the policies of this post-war period indignantly fought to limit Baster and Black land ownership (see Lilja 2013 for more information on the labour relations that characterised this period).

Having reviewed in broad outline the economic history of the 19th century Karoo in the next chapter I turn to the specific history of Gorras. I outline the farm history and the architectural biography of occupation and draw correlations between this and the broader economic events of the 19th century.

CHAPTER FIVE

GORRAS FARM'S HISTORY AND THE ARCHITECTURAL AND STRATIGRAPHIC SEQUENCE

INTRODUCTION

The 19th century was a period in which some groups experienced intensified economic, institutional, legal and social disempowerment, whilst whites with capital flourished in the economic and social environment. People of Khoesan and African descent lost their economic independence. This was a period of dispossession characterised by increased movement into the interior by Trek Boers. The impact of the merino wool trade along with the British changes in land administration further encouraged this. Further into the late 19th century, the British administration's economic interest in the Cape colony as a direct result of the recent successes in the diamond and gold rush in the 1860s and 1870s shifted and encouraged more government oversight in the administration of land. Additionally, laws which championed economic advantages for Trek Boer farmers saw Khoesan and African descendant groups continue to be economically disenfranchised. This was a period in which South Africa's administration by the Crown catapulted the Colony into an Industrial age. These changes to the socio-economic landscape obviously resonated at the micro-scale with the differential capacity of people to benefit from the opportunities that arose.

The large scale social and regional economic history outlined in Chapter Four is a means of contextualizing the biographical scale, of the personal, of an object, a dwelling place, a place and a farm landscape. This period is about the distancing of subsistence producers from the

landscape – the majority of whom ended up working as labourers on farms. Within this context of commercialisation, I now turn to the biographies of Gorras farm. I discuss the archival material around what we know of the farm's occupation and formal title deed approval. I then turn to discuss the corbelled houses architectural sequence and comment on the spatial distribution of the dwellings. Finally, I discuss the excavation sequence as a means of analysing any stratigraphic changes and their links to changes in the architectural sequence, this will be further useful in the analysis of the material culture from the middens. The discussion that emerges from this chapter links the farm history and the architectural sequence to the capacity to purchase, the status of buying power and the material identity of the occupiers. These discussions will be further elaborated on in the discussions on the excavated material in part two of this thesis.

The economic and social history pointed out that by the late 1850s, and well into the late 1860s the towns of Williston, Carnarvon, Fraserburg and Calvinia were already established or well on their way to being formally established. The development of the infrastructure of linking towns led to greater transport and trade in goods between the Cape, the Eastern Cape and the greater North. By the 1870s, during the Kimberley diamond rush, mass transport impacted the development of these towns and by the late 1880s the rail infrastructure was already established to further support these economic nodes. The point is that in the 1850s, the area around Gorras was on the outskirts of the colony and Crown lands. However, in the 1860s this changed as the farm was drawn into the regional commerce and by the 1870s when the frontier was almost fully closed, Gorras was a developing farm drawn into the full economic workings of the colony.

In this period, corbelled houses continue to be built in increasingly elaborate and innovative ways. According to the theory pointed out in Chapter Three, their continued manifestation is useful in discussing the socio-economic differences as implied by geographic relationships of the structures (Hall 1969; Bourdieu 1989) and the relationships of the dwellers to each other Thus, Gorras farm affords us the opportunity to discuss the social hierarchies playing out within and between the three households as they relate to the rural lives of people within a closing frontier. As noted, increasing connectivity, trade and transport developed which would have made other sources of building material available. The question then is why did corbelled houses, as an architectural form, continue to be built of stone if they were originally just a response to the low availability of building materials.

There are two interrelated possible issues. The first is that corbelled houses were a vernacular form that was underpinned by a cultural template of what a pastoralist home looked like and was resistant to new material and architectural change (see also Appendix B; Fig B1 for images on traditional maitjeshuis pastoral homes). Second is that if new building material was readily available from the 1860s, the cost of buying wood and bricks and transporting them were possibly higher than what they were able to afford or willing to part with. For a lease holder or prospective farm buyer, such costs contributed to continuity of the vernacular corbelled house form. I am therefore interested in how the farms history as well as the architectural and stratigraphic sequence speak to the economic means of the occupants. Their responses to possible pressures and success in the markets and how this speaks to issues of identity.

GORRAS FARM – AN ARCHIVAL BIOGRAPHY

The documented history of Gorras farm falls in the later end of the 19th century which is at a critical cusp when farms are being purchased through title deeds and this contributed to the closing frontier. The farm has four corbelled structures, three of which have been identified as dwelling houses, these are Gorras I, III and IV. The fourth corbelled house (Gorras II) is a *kafhok* or grain storage (Kramer 2012). Gorras I is the only corbelled structure on the farm to be noted in the survey diagram of 1873 (Fig 5.1). It has been identified as the main werf in the survey diagram and national monuments status proclamation document (see Appendix A; Fig A.5).

The other structures have been represented in maps dating from the 1970s and include the dwelling house built in the 1930s. It is interesting that Gorras IV is not indicated in the 1873 survey diagram, and neither is Gorras III. The question is whether they were built at the same time as Gorras I and omitted from the survey diagram as other modifications noted in the lease termination document were, or whether their omission was real, and they were only built after 1873. I will discuss this issue further in the following sections.

The farm was originally occupied by and loaned to Johan Diederick Christoff Jankowitz (JDC) and his brother Johan Christian Jankowitz (JC). The lease was granted on the 30th of November 1861 and the occupation commenced on the 1st of January 1862. They paid £5-0-0 up until January 1867 to lease the land. At the end of their lease, JDC applied for a refund on the improvements made. As the farm had been co-lease by both brothers a separate agreement between them had agreed that JDC would receive 1/3 of the sum approved for the improvements to the farm.

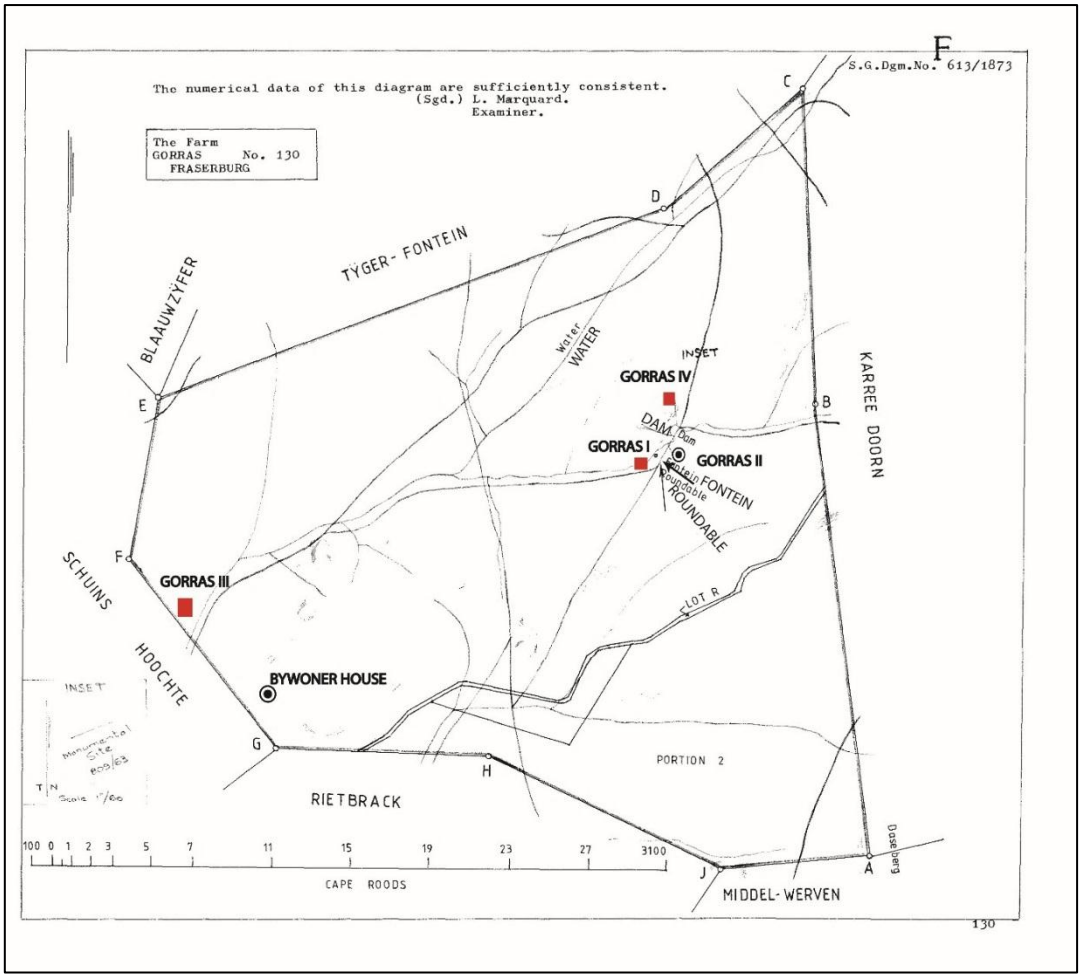

Figure 5. 1. Gorras farm survey diagram with added annotations (extracted from survey diagram by Doesel 1873).

The very first mention of the Jankowitz brothers in the archives is in a memorial from 1853 where JDC requests permission to purchase 30 pounds of gunpowder as it was required by law to possess a permit for gun powder. The request was for the purposes of a journey he was embarking on for trade and so he needed the gunpowder to protect himself and his cattle, as he was going as far as Beaufort West for this trading excursion (CO LEER 4070 – 11; see Appendix C -Fig C.6). Therefore, JDC's history in the Fraserburg region likely pre-dated the 1860s lease of Gorras. It is likely that he probably had sustained himself as a smous (itinerant travelling trader) before his tenure at Gorras. In a memorial to R C Nelson in 1869,

JDC Jankowitz requested a refund of the leased farm Gorras in 1869 when the five-year lease had expired and both lessees were due to be paid for half the improvements.

JC Jankowitz took over the lease and now had a one -year lease which was renewable, and this therefore meant that JDC would receive ¼ of the price of the improvements (CO LEER 4159 – 7). The new lessee (JC) would then pay, in addition to the lease, 6 % on ½ of the improvements.

The Government notice 318 of 1869 (CA CO 4162.FO), lists farms in the district that were coming up for auction, and those with improvements, Gorras being one of the farms. Lots 547-549 portions of Gorras had improvements: the stone walls, kraals, a dwelling house, dams, excavations and furrows for £621-13-3. Some of these improvements on the notice are missing from the survey diagram of 1873 (Fig 5.1) save for the dam and spring. In a letter written in 1870, JC Jankowitz records the value of the improvement for the two lots on the farm which included stonewalls, kraals, dwelling house and dams at the value of £336-18s-9d and excavations and furrows to the value of £284-14-6d respectively (see Appendix C).

He notes that the best dam would hold enough water for 2000 sheep for six months (Gorras I Fig 5.1) and that the only spring near the house would be enough for domestic purposes. Furthermore, in 1869 he writes that, the "water dams retaining wall 45 high foundation, 54 feet breath full, 150 yards long constructed by English Navvies besides stone kraal dwelling houses excavations for walls ect (sic) [had] in fact a £100 laid out" (CO 4152 1969). In denoting the English Navvies, he is possibly making a positive reference to the quality in the workmanship of the dams and the high added value. In this same letter he queries information he had received that "other parties [had not been] compensated for similar work and outlays" (CO 4152 1869). At the end of the letter, based on his connection to Gorras,
JC Jankowitz asks for a 21-year lease at £20 per annum and requests that he be paid for any further improvements. However, the response he receives states was that £30 per annum

would be much more realistic sum for the lease (CA CO 4163.J1) at 10 shillings per 100 morgens. Consequently, on the 11th of March 1871 JC Jankowitz asks that the lease be relinquished and that it be auctioned for a 21year lease, indicating that he wants to stay if he can get a long lease (Amshwand pers. Comm February 2018). He is turned down because Gorras still needed to be surveyed, and he was informed that an annual lease had to be continued until the survey was complete (CA CO 4168.J8).

Interesting references are made in the letter from 1869 in CO 4152 regarding the construction of the dams by English Navvies. What we know from the historical record is that after the 1820 settlers arrived in the Eastern Cape, there were several other periods of immigration specifically directed at acquiring skilled and unskilled labour from Europe. These workers from Europe and England were highly valued among the colonial settlers (Bundy 1984). These would have fallen under the category of governmental immigrants, the first which arrived between 1857 and 1863 and the next wave which arrived between 1873 and 1883. These immigrants comprised of rail workers, recruits to the Cape Mounted Rifles, and agricultural settlers who had some of the 1864 land laws relaxed on their behalf. There were also aided immigrants, and these were usually self -employed artisans who worked as carpenters, masons, painters, as well as dam-makers, fence-builders, well-diggers, brickmakers and stone-quarriers (Bundy 1984). These artisans would have represented the lower end of the socio-economic order.

The use of the term English Navvies in this letter points to a differentiation in the types of workers, perhaps a hierarchical distinction based on point of origin and it possibly highlights JC Jankowitz ’s conceptual class distinction with these Navvies. This distinction is particularly relevant to the argument put forward by Bundy (1984) were he notes that there

were great class distinctions among 19th century rural white populations and that the idea of egalitarian and homogenous white populations is flawed (Bundy 1984). The case of the navvies is that they, "were employees of farmers who had been engaged to dig dams or sink wells and similar earth-moving jobs…Dam-making was arduous and unattractive work, clearly entered into by white labourers near the bottom of the social scale" (Bundy 1984:113). One of the other interesting issues raised by this letter has to do with the mention of the stone kraal dwelling house as this is one of the few references in local vernacular to the corbelled houses in the archive. This gives us a phrase which can be used more specifically to locate these structures within the archive and other sources, because it appears the term corbelled house, or korbelhuis is a more recent term, and korbelhuis is used in the most recent 1970 edition of the 1:50000 map. A linguistic biographical study of the word and related terms is a possible avenue for future research.

The survey was only completed in 1873 (Fig 5.1; see also Appendix A), and JC Jankowitz likely stayed on the property until 1871-72 with the ambition to own it. The farm was later purchased in 1878 by the Van Wyks, who are related to Gys Van Wyk the present owner. The archive has little information on JC Jankowitz who stayed on the property prior to this, however, in 1872 a liquidation and distribution account is filed for JDC his brother (MOOC – LEER 13/1/278:59) and in 1904 JDC dies and a notice for JDC is filed (MOOC – LEER 6/9/496 – 973).The archive points to JC struggling with financing the farm even after having made significant improvements to it. It is likely that JC's inability to lease the farm for 30 pounds annually was due to the periods of boom and bust in the ostrich feather and merino wool markets. In terms of the feather trade especially, he probably also failed as had others in the Northern Cape who tried to follow the success of the feather trade in the Eastern Cape.

Furthermore, if the case was that the Jankowitz's were some of the first adopters of ostrich farming then it is possible they made very few profits from it in the first instance. This was further compounded by the fact that in 1863 very few ostriches had been domesticated and that the incubator technology was still being developed when Jankowitz was established on the property. Given the warning to people wanting to enter the trade by Douglass (1881), the cost of simply building the walls would be an expenditure without profit for the first year. Additionally, as noted in the economic and social history the !Kora wars started at around this time, the diamond rush was picking up and there were periods of recession due to the over-speculation in the diamond market (Gillespie & Schupp 2002; Greyling & Verhoef 2015), as well as significant droughts between 1862 and 1864. Additionally, there were a number of insolvencies throughout the period. It is likely that the Jankowitz brothers were also reliant on the merino wool economy, but a wool crisis in the 1860s, greatly affected the market and was one of the factors that led to increased economic stratification among white pastoralists. All these factors likely affected the economics of JC Jankowitz who remained on Gorras up until the 1870s.

In the case of the Jankowitz family, the impacts of multiple droughts, wars and financial busts as a result of both the feather and merino wool were compounded by the changes in the property laws. These laws were continually being amended, while there were several laws focused on encouraging migration from the United Kingdom, some of the changes put existing lease holders in precarious positions. In 1864 the government could lease Crown lands for twenty-one years and through Act no 5 of 1870, these leases had to be converted into a real property through quitrent tenure at a price fixed by arbitration. The case was that the arbitrators could not, "fix on a less sum than the yearly rental capitalised at six

percent…or in round numbers, sixteen times the rental. A perpetual quitrent of 1% was imposed" (Douglass 1881:64).

At the time, a large proportion of the country was under the act of 1864 and leasers took the land at rentals far exceeding their value owing to the increased valuation of the land. The 1860s act required that the Crownlands be submitted to public auction before they could be alienated or sold and the matter was taken out of the hands of the local governor who would have likely valued the land at a price accessible to the local inhabitants (Douglass 1881; Miller &Pope 2000). Therefore, it is likely that JC Jankowitz lost the property at auction due to the increased valuation of the land. As JC had requested permission to continue to rent the property at £20, £10 less than it was worth, it would have counted as an undervaluing of the property. Thus, the many improvements made to the property likely added to JC not being able to afford the farm at auction. The farm was finally purchased by the Van Wyks after auction, following the cancellation of the lease by JC Jankowitz and the farm has been in the Van Wyk family since 1878.

THE GORRAS WERF

The documentary record outlining the efforts made by both Jankowitz brothers to own land, particularly Gorras, indicates that during their lease of the property, they had invested in developing it. The 1873 survey map documents the presence of a 'roundable', a spring and a dam (Fig.5.1). The corbelled structure must have been used by JC Jankowitz as a dwelling and could have been built at any time from 1862. This structure is Gorras I. In his letters Jankowitz also describes the improvements, noted above, he had made to the farm. These include stone walls, stone kraals, the dwelling house (Gorras I), dams, excavations and furrows. The location of Gorras I marks the core of a developing farmyard (werf) and this

location on the banks of the major drainage through the farm can be attributed to the presence of reasonable water there. It is likely that the walls and kraals mentioned in the documents refer to structures close to the werf. Certainly, the Google Earth image (Fig. 5.2) indicates the location of ostrich pens both immediately downstream and upstream from Gorras 1.

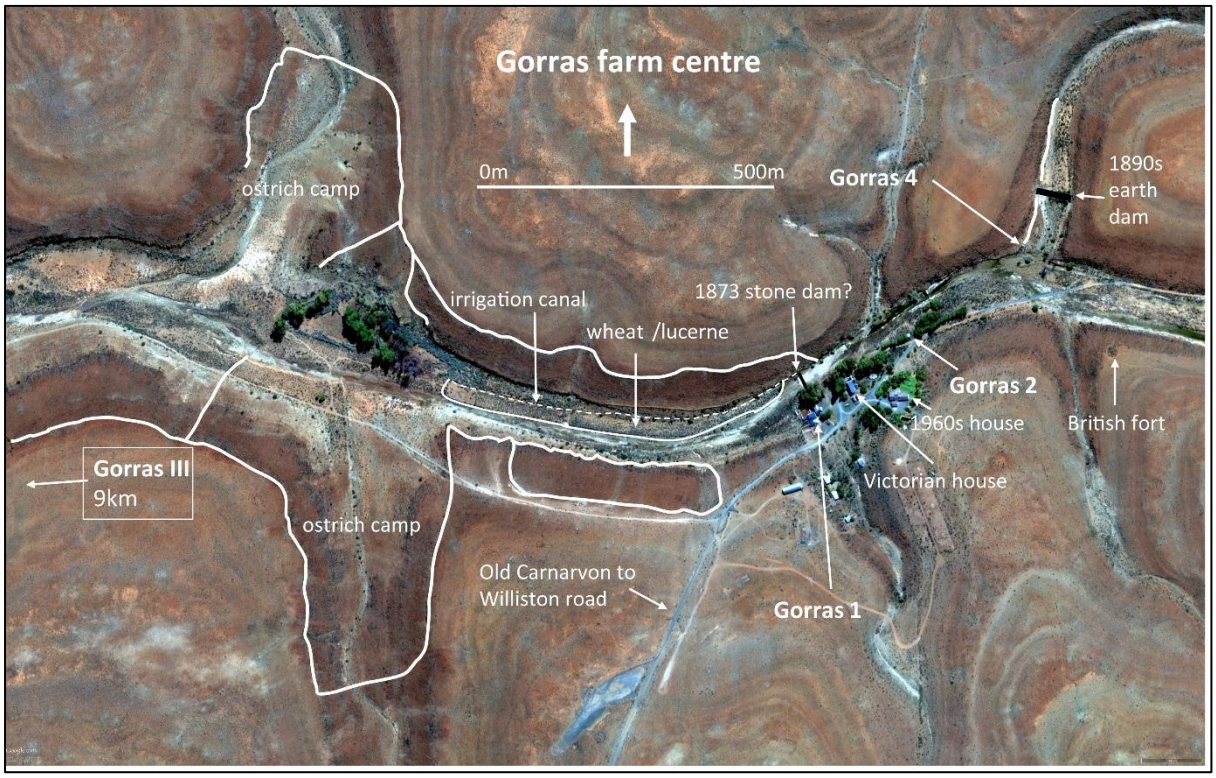

Figure 5. 2. Gorras Main werf

There are no obvious stone wall sheep kraals but some of the ostrich pens may have served this purpose. I return to the issue of stone kraals below in the description of Gorras III. Quite clearly, Jankowitz had developed some infrastructure on Gorras for the management of merino sheep and ostriches, for wool and feather production respectively. The documents also refer to dams and furrows having been built. It is clear from the documents that the dam/s are for watering sheep. The reference to 2000 sheep perhaps is Jankowitz's estimate of how many sheep the dam could support, and not how many he actually possessed. The location of this dam could either be immediately in the drainage next to Gorras I or in a

feeder drainage 200 meters upstream of Gorras I (Fig.5.2). It is possible that the former is more likely, where there is a dam/weir.

Additionally, the outlet for this dam on the northern bank is linked to an irrigation canal that feeds agricultural fields 200 metres downstream. These would have been for growing wheat and lucerne (alfalfa) (Fig. 5.2). This dam and canal system must have required significant labour and engineering skill and we cannot be sure that they are part of the improvements made by Jankowitz and mentioned in the documents. Although we cannot be sure, this dam and canal arrangement may not be the infrastructure mentioned in the documents. One hint that this is the case is that the corbelled structure (Gorras II) which is the kafhok (wheat granary), is within 100 metres of Gorras I, but is not included on the 1873 survey map (Fig. 5.1 & 5.2). The combination of the corbelled granary, and a significant irrigation system, may therefore have been built after the Van Wyks purchased the farm. Indeed, Gorras IV, also close to the Gorras I farmyard, and Gorras III, on the north western boundary of the farm, are also not included on the 1873 map. However, it is also very likely that these structures were left out of the original survey diagrams as would have been the case if they were working buildings (see Kramer 2012).

There are two scenarios afforded to us. The first being that the major developments stated in the archive point to the Jankowitz's having made significant developments on the farm only to lose the farm at auction. The second points to Van Wyk constructing the small dam after he took ownership of the farm. It could also be speculated that this dam and field system dates to the same period around 1882 when the Victorian house was built. The farm is interwoven in a complex fabric of structures. This farm complex is represented by the Victorian house which was built as a result of the profits from the wool boom (Gys Van Wyk pers. Comm April 2019; see also Kramer 2012), the Victorian house overlooks the Gorras I. Adjacent to the Victorian house is a 1950s-1960s wool boom house, that underpins the

success of the farm. A further aspect of farm's social history is J.K. Van Wyk's application for a bywoner rehabilitation grant which enabled him to build a property for a bywoner/sharecropper/foreman, W. Visagie (1/WILL LEER: 10/6/3/73). These grants generally, were given to farmers who were struggling economically, which had resulted from the effects of the depression. There are records of these grants having been applied for by farmers who had the means, and close to 32 grants were applied for in the Fraserburg-Williston-Carnarvon region (1/WILL LEER: 10/6/3/73; see Appendix C).The structures that are associated with this period are located on the outskirts of the farm close to Gorras III.

Given this background on the historical biography of Gorras, I now turn to the architectural description of the corbelled structures and the evidence for sequence within these structures. Based on these descriptions, I return to some of the documentary evidence in order to briefly elaborate the discussion of the Gorras built environment and its chronology. Additionally, we know that Jankowitz occupied Gorras I, but this summary also provides some suggestions as to the continued use of Gorras I, the development of the werf around Gorras I, and some ideas on who used Gorras III and IV as dwellings. These ideas (working hypotheses) provide the framework against which the archaeological material described in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight and Nine are assessed.

THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Gorras has four corbelled structures on it. Three have been identified as dwelling houses and one was a kafhok (see Fig 5.1 & Fig. 5.2). The three dwelling structures are Gorras I, Gorras III and Gorras IV. As noted above, Gorras I is the only corbelled house to be identified in the survey diagram (see Fig 5.1). The structure is grand, and it is at the core of the farmyard (werf) that started to develop after 1862 (Fig 5.2). As discussed above, this development

includes a Victorian house after the Jankowitz period. The survey diagram annotates the national monument status of Gorras I declared in 1963 (Appendix A, Figs A.1-3).

The third corbelled house is Gorras III, which is the same size as Gorras I and located on the outskirts of the farm on the borders with the neighbouring farms of Tygerfontein, Schuinshoogte and Blaauwsyfer (Fig 5.1). Gorras III is informally referred to as Vanwykswerwe/Van Wyks Werf (Van Wyks Farm Stead). The relative isolation of Gorras III, in relation to Gorras I is of interest, because this potentially comments on the relationship between the occupiers and the residents of Gorras I and those of Gorras III. Gorras IV is small and menial, when compared to Gorras I and Gorras III. Gorras IV is within an easy walking distance of 800 meters from Gorras I and the main werf. The issues to do with social distance created by the position of all three structures will be discussed in chapter 9 of this thesis and will more importantly, pay attention to the economic means and relationships that are implied.

CORBELLED HOUSE CLASSIFICATION

Kramer (2012) provides a useful classification of the corbelled houses in the Karoo. Her classification, in addition to illustrating the variability of these structures, is important because it also underpins important chronological implications. In setting up this typology, Kramer (2012), focused on two core attributes. The first is the shape of the base, either a round base or a square base form. The second attribute is the roof shape, which would either be round and domed or cone/ pitched. Round base structures were labelled 'A' type structures and those with square bases were designated as 'B' type structures.

A further step in the typological categorisation links the base types (A and B) with the roof type. Signifier '1' is used to describe structures that have a round domed roof and round base form. Signifier '2' designates structures with a cone roof and a round base form. This would

in the case of attribute ‘A’ distinguish between A1 (round base – round roof) and A2 (round base -cone roof). A third category used was the floor size and signifier ‘a’ is used for floor types less than 5 meters in diameter and signifier ‘b’ is used for structures with floors that are larger than 5 meters. Kramer (2012) further discusses B and C type structures (Kramer 2012; 2019). This typological detail falls out of the scope of this thesis and I focus on the A1 and A2 structures as they relate to the Gorras corbelled buildings. Gorras I is an A1b structure, Gorras III is an A2a structure and Gorras IV is an A1a structure (Table 5.1).

Table 5. 1. Gorras farm corbelled house profile dimensions (data extracted from Kramer 2012).

CORBELLED HOUSE	HEIGHT (m)	DIAMETER (m)	RATIO HEIGHT TO DIAMETER (m)	TYPE
GORRAS I	4.83	5.21	0.92	A1b
GORRAS II	2.7	3.42	0.78	A1a
GORRAS IV	2.73	2.72	0.98	A1a
GORRAS III	4.51	4.18	1.07	A2a

Overtime, the primarily large corbelled structures have had additions. These additions potentially signify how the socio-economic indicators change in the dynamics of the household. Possible change in the family size, financial means and in some instances, a change in ownership. Additions therefore provide significant information on the personal biographies of the household through time. Gorras I has three room additions that fall along a linear pattern, Gorras III has two room additions that occur on opposite sides of the structure, while Gorras IV has no additions, but has modifications that also pass comment on change to this structure as a dwelling.

GORRAS I

As indicated above, Gorras I, identified on the 1873 survey diagram, was probably the first dwelling of the main werf (Fig. 5.1). The absence of any other corbelled structure on the survey diagram means that Gorras I was the dwelling the Jankowitz brothers used from sometime after 1862. Consequently, the absence of Gorras III and Gorras IV from the 1873

survey diagram suggests they have a post 1873 date, or alternatively, they were present but not documented.

Gorras I (Fig 5.3) is built along the old road that connected Carnarvon and Williston (Fig. 5.1, Fig. 5.3; Fig 5.4; see also Fig 3.1). Both the road and Gorras I pre-date the survey diagram (1873), but it is impossible to determine which came first, and both may even have been constructed at the same time. Additionally, the ready availability of water at Gorras I influenced the position of the main werf, and the position of the road followed suit, given that travellers needed water both for themselves and the oxen, mules and horses that pulled the wagons and carts.

Figure 5. 3. Gorras I Corbelled House

Figure 5. 4. Old main road adjacent to Gorras I

In terms of the interior additions, Gorras I has a number of hooks and shelves that highlight its use and function as a domestic space. Fig 5.5 shows the interior of Gorras I where the current owner and descendant of the Van Wyks preserves the interior as a museum.

Figure 5. 5. Gorras I interior

All three additions to Gorras I are rectangular and were built in a linear pattern (Fig 5.6). The first extension B has a pitched roof and there is no connecting doorway between it and the corbelled structure (Figs 5.6 and 5.7). According to a 1960s diagram and photograph, extension B originally had a wall that subdivided it into two the rooms (Walton 1989:130; Fig. 5.7), but there is no longer any trace of this (Fig 5.8). The pitched roof's style on extension B resembles that of the pitched roof on the Victorian house (Fig 5.9) and is likely to be part of the original structure because the end gables are contemporary with the room base (Kramer 2012:171).

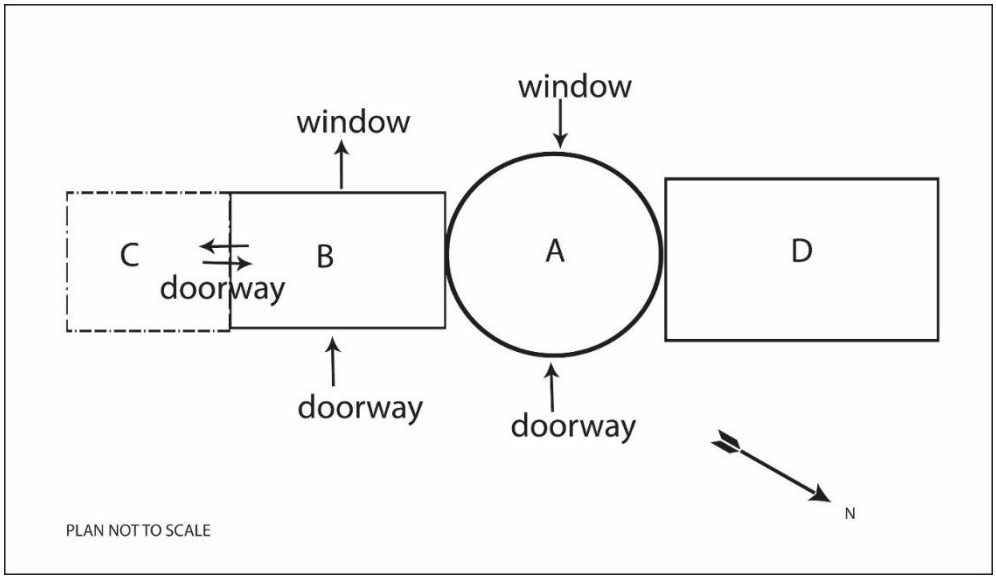

Figure 5. 6. Gorras I plan diagram

Additionally, the doorway also faces east and matches the orientation laid out by the corbelled house. Extension B, although simple in its form, does have storage and window niches. These features indicate that it was built as an addition to the house that expanded the amount of accommodation (Kramer 2012:171). The pitched roof of extension B indicates the presence of suitable timber for structural support, that was either locally grown, or more likely, brought in. Whatever the case, the addition post-dates the Jankowitz brothers, and was built to expand the house for the Van Wyks who were the first owners. It is possible that it was added on, in the 1880s.

Extension C, which has now completely disappeared, is visible in a 1960s photograph by Walton (Fig 5.7). Extension C was built onto Extension B and Kramer (2012) notes that there was a connecting door between the two rooms. On the right side of the corbel is extension D, and while it is connected to Gorras I (Fig 5.7) the style of the dressed stone and trimmings are the same as the Victorian house located less than 50 meters away from Gorras I (Fig 5.9). Extension D is a larger structure with a wide entrance and served as a barn and storage space

within the werf. Extensions B and C were most likely built concurrently, or C built directly after extension B. The barn (extension D), however, was either built concurrently with the Victorian house or directly after its construction (Figs 5.7 and 5.8). The Victorian house was built as a result of the wool boom by the Van Wyks, but the exact date of construction is unknown. However, given that British soldiers moved into it during the South African war and that the Van Wyks had to move into the corbelled houses, it predates 1897.

Figure 5. 7. Gorras farm 1960s photograph by Walton in Kramer (2012).

Figure 5. 8. Gorras I Corbelled house and extensions.

Figure 5. 9. Victorian House Gorras I werf.

GORRAS III

Gorras III is an A2a structure (Kramer 2012) (Fig 5.10) (round base and a cone roof). Behind the structure is a stonewall kraaling system and the structure has two extensions. The two extensions B and C radiate from the corbel in a star like formation (Fig 5.11). Gorras III is located on the boundary of the far western edge of Gorras and is located some 9km to the west of Gorras l (Fig 5.2) and therefore isolated from the main Gorras werf. It did not, and perhaps was never intended to develop into a farm centre or werf. However, while this isolation is relative to Gorras I, Gorras III is located some 300 meters from the current road north into the Langberg, which starts at a T-junction from the Williston/Carnarvon road, four kilometres to the south. Similar to Gorras I, it was constructed along the old track road (Fig 3.1).

Figure 5. 10. Gorras III exterior.

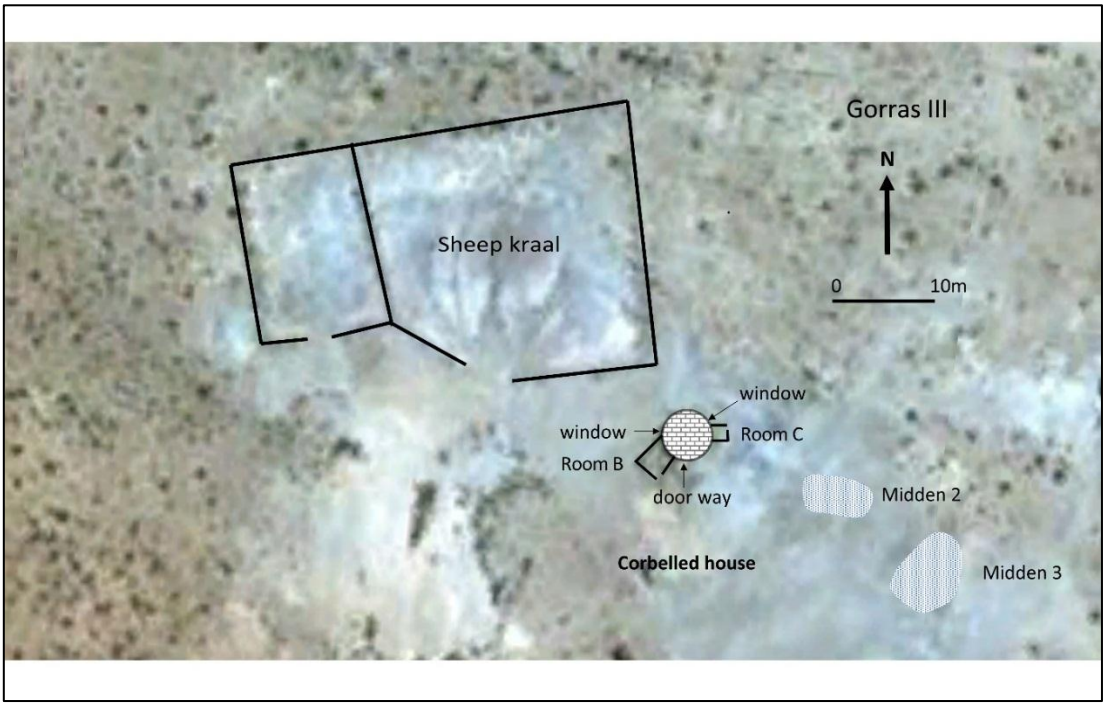

Figure 5. 11. Gorras III werf with plan view of corbelled house.

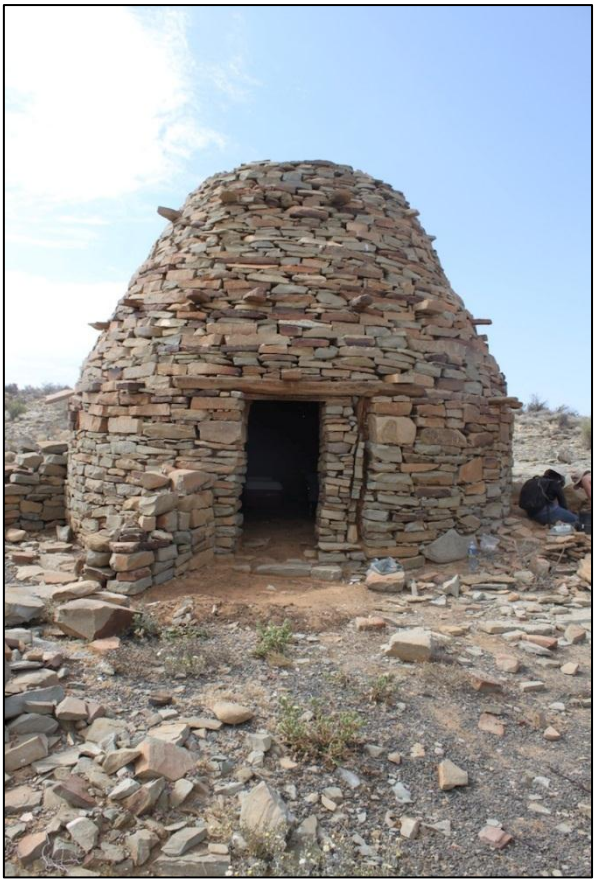

Figure 5. 12. Gorras III showing the doorway and extension B to the left of the door.

The indications from the 1873 survey map is that a track was already established where the current road runs, and like Gorras I, Gorras III was therefore located near to a road (see also Fig 3.1). Gorras III, in its basic dimensions, is similar in size to Gorras I. The corbelled dome, however, is cone shaped and flattens out at the apex, in contrast to Gorras I, where the dome is smoothly rounded. In terms of the architectural 'feel', Gorras I and III are similar. The door to the corbelled structure faces downslope, which is to the south (Fig. 5.11). While this orientation is practical, if there was ever runoff from rain, the orientation is also social. This aspect faces the track mentioned above, and additionally, 1 km to the south there is a 'putt' or 'gora' (Khoe and Nama word for a well), excavated into bedrock to a depth of about 3 metres. This well could have considerable antiquity and maybe the reason why a stone

dressed rectangular house was built nearby. I return to this structure below, because of its relevance to the date of Gorras III and who lived there.

Like Gorras I, the interior of Gorras III also has a stone ledge and two niches for storage and hooks from which to hang things, and the primary structure was clearly built as a dwelling. Additionally, it has two windows, one facing south west and the other facing due east (Fig. 5.11). There are two additions to Gorras III, and both abut the corbelled house wall and therefore, both were built onto the corbelled structure at a later date These are small rooms, one abutting the south western side and the second abutting the eastern side of the corbelled structure. The first addition is just to the left-hand side of the doorway, as one faces the structure (Fig. 5.11; 5.12). The doorway has been modified and this event is a key to understanding the first addition. The width of the doorway was originally just over one metre. This was a significantly wide aperture compared to the front doorway of Gorras I (Fig. 5.12. see also Fig 5.3). The initial construction seems impractical as a doorway to a domestic dwelling and clearly falls outside the range of a normal doorway. At some point after the construction of the corbelled house, the doorway width was reduced significantly from the right-hand edge. This is clear from the smaller column of packed stone that reduces the doorway width by 0.35m (Fig.5.12). This reduced size is comparable to the width of the Gorras l doorway.

It is significant that the doorway width has been reduced from the right-hand side, as one faces the doorway (Fig. 5.12). This maybe because the south eastern wall of the front rectangular addition abuts the corbelled house wall 0.15m from the left-hand side of the doorway (Fig. 5.12). The implication is that the width of the doorway was reduced from the right-hand side, either because the front room addition had already been built, or that it was planned, but perhaps more likely is that reduction in the doorway size and the addition of the front room occurred at the same time.

Both of the front room walls that abut the corbelled house extend from it roughly at right angles (Fig. 5.11). These walls therefore do not run exactly parallel to one another and consequently the front addition is a shallow trapezium rather than a rectangle. The length of the room (B) is about 4 metres and the width ranges from 2 metres at the back to 2.5 metres at the front. The walls of this room are 0.40 metres wide and are two stones thick (Fig. 5.12). This width is significantly smaller than the width of the corbelled house wall. Even though much of the stone has been 'robbed' from the front room (Figs 5.12 & 5.13), the entrance into it was clearly at the southern end of the long wall that abuts the corbelled house next to the doorway. The height of the front room walls cannot be established because of the 'robbing' and there is no evidence that indicates whether it had a roof or not. The wall thickness certainly suggests it was load bearing, and if it had a roof it would have been flat or a slight monocline.

The west facing window of the corbelled house is just the left of the west wall of the front room addition (Fig. 5.13). The second aperture is one metre to the right of this window, and this would have been included on the inside of the room addition. This aperture, however, does not open into the inside of the corbelled house. The suggestion is that this aperture is a modification made to the corbelled house wall when the front room was built, and that it served as a niche for storage in this front room. This kind of post construction modification of a corbelled house is difficult because any removal of stone weakens the wall if there is no lintel to support the stone above the removal (Kramer 2012). Compared to the precision building of the window 'frame' next to the aperture, there is evidence of collapse, especially of the stone where the supporting lintel should be. If this interpretation is correct, then it suggests that this front structure did have a roof and that its height was obviously above the aperture (Fig. 5.13).

Figure 5. 13. Addition B south west.

The second addition on the eastern side of the corbelled house is much smaller than the front room addition and is two by two metres in size (Fig. 5.14 & 5.15). It is difficult to reconstruct the walls of this structure because it has also been badly 'robbed'. The impression is that less precision was given to the construction of this room, compared to the corbelled house and the larger front room. Additionally, a section of the wall on the northern side of the room that abuts the corbelled house is made of two parallel slabs of upright stones with a rubble fill in between (Fig. 5.15). This is not a load bearing wall and suggests that the rubble fill anchored wood or metal uprights to support a rudimentary roof. It is not clear whether the other three walls were built like this because the basal stones (foundations) are relatively well laid. The entrance to this room appears to be on the right-hand side of the eastern wall (Fig. 5.14 &5.15), because of threshold paving stones.

Immediately to the left of the entrance the surface of the south eastern corner of the floor is also paved. These could be hearthstones. Next to the northern wall is a round, white enamel on iron artefact that is round with an 18-centimeter diameter. There are three thin 10cm

apertures in the centre of this artefact. This artefact was not lifted because of time constraints but the enamel finish suggests that it is kitchen ware. Although speculative, this small structure could have served as a ‘kitchen’/cooking area.

Figure 5. 14. East facing room view 1.

Figure 5. 15. East facing room view 2.

As with the primary corbelled structure of Gorras I, Gorras III was also expanded as a dwelling with the addition of two other rooms, and a significant modification of the doorway, that significantly reduced its width. It has been suggested that the modification of the door may have been contemporary with the addition of the front room. It may be that the function

of the front room was to add a communal, living space to the home and that with this addition, the function of the original corbelled structure may have shifted from a general living and sleeping space into a singular sleeping area or bedroom. This interpretation may explain why the width of the doorway was significantly reduced. The increasing compartmentalisation of household activity may have gone together with increasing privacy, particularly for sleeping arrangements.

Furthermore, if the second addition served as a kitchen, among possible other uses, then this elaborates the formal demarcation of activities in a house and a household that may have shifted the complexion of the 'household' implied for the singular corbelled structure. We do not know what the time elapsed was between the construction of the corbelled house and the two additions. Whatever the case, even if communal space and a kitchen area were outside the corbelled structure, the additions simply brought those activities 'inside'. I elaborate this discussion at the end of the chapter in the comparison between the architectural and spatial biographies of all three corbelled structures. This comparison contributes to the issue of the identity of the occupants of these households, that in turn provides a perspective on the excavated material from the middens associated with them.

Figure 5. 16. Gorras III Kraaling system behind the corbelled house.

One detail mentioned earlier is the relative distance between Gorras I and Gorras III which is about 9km. This spatial separation may be practical because Gorras III also has associated stone kraaling (Figs 5.11 & 5.16) and this may relate to the manner in which sheep were managed on the farm. However, this separation may also have been social and was underpinned by the independence and the individuality of the Gorras III occupants. It is likely that Gorras I and Gorras III, because of their similarity were built at the same time sometime before 1873, and that they could have been the two different households of JDC Jankowitz and JC Jankowitz. I return to this issue in the discussion.

The reason for the location of Gorras III, raises the issue of separation on the farm, but also access to a reliable water source. The drainages in the vicinity of Gorras III are small and ephemeral and there is no local permanent spring. However, about 1km away from Gorras III is a 'putt' or 'gora' (Fig. 5.17). In the Khoe/Nama this relates to a spring or a well. In this case an excavation depth 2.5m in depth, through bedrock reached the water table. This source of water, while it may have been elaborated in the later 19th century, could however, be much older, and precolonial in age. Additionally, there is also a rectangular house built of well-dressed stone (Fig. 5.17). The gora answers the question regarding access to water.

The dressed stone house likely dates to the 1930s and could be linked to the Bywoner rehabilitation policies mentioned above. This house possibly was constructed for a bywoner or foreman on the property, so as to offset the cost to the landowner and economically empower the sharecropper (Figs 5.17;18 & 5.19; see Appendix C). While this might give us insight into landowner and sharecropper relations through the 19th and into the 20th century, this possibility for this house is not considered further in this thesis. Its presence and location right next to the well does speak to 'ownership', and by implication the issue of access to the

water, and this might have had implications for the Gorras III household, as it was possibly still being used as a dwelling in the 1930s.

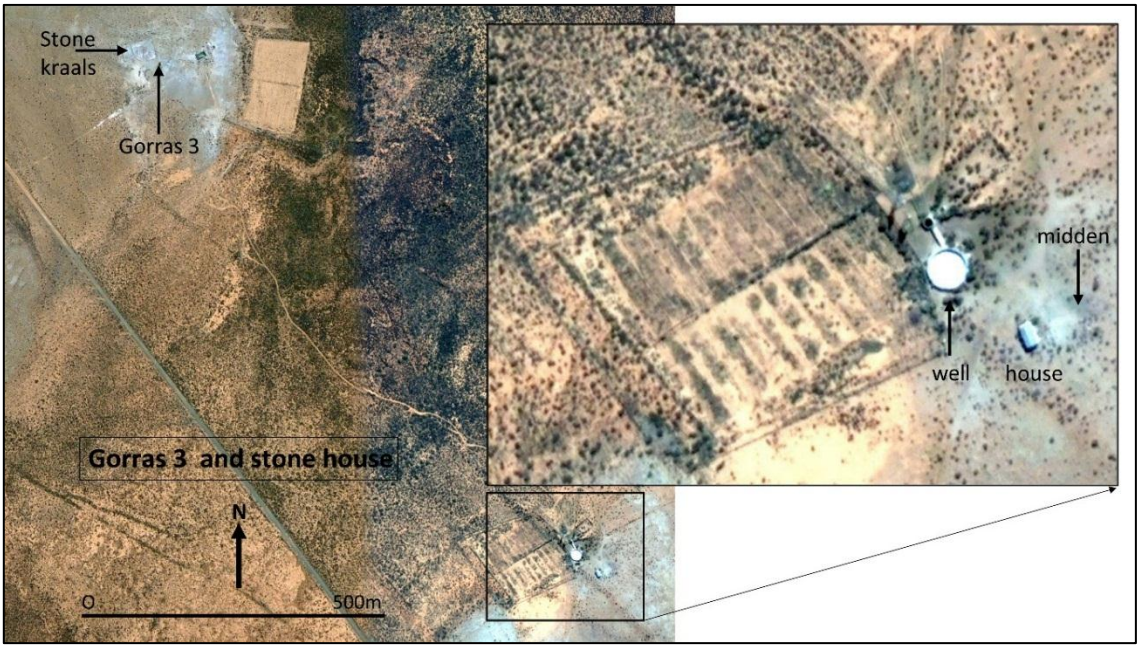

Figure 5. 17. Gorras III in relation to the bywoner house.

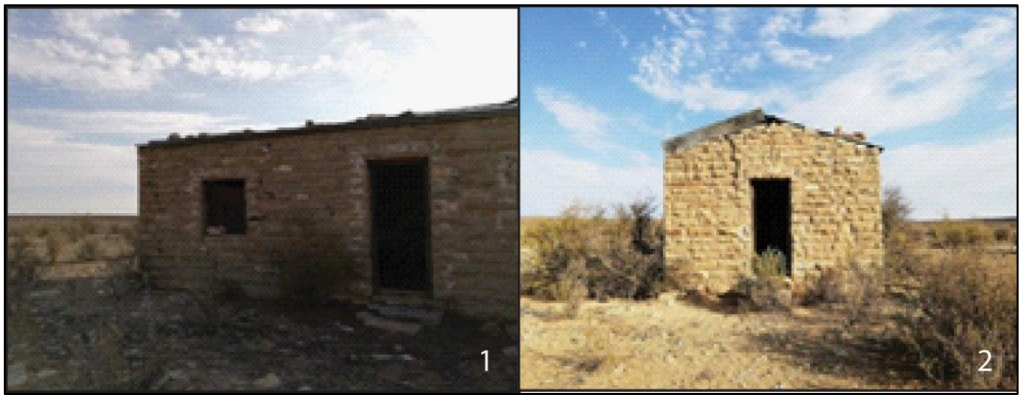

Figure 5. 18. Bywoner house? Exterior views.

Figure 5. 19.a. Bywoner house with fireplace interior 1. b Bywoner house with hooks interior 2.

GORRAS IV

This structure is an A1a structure (Kramer 2012). It is small and diminutive (Fig 5.20) when compared to both Gorras I and Gorras III. Gorras IV is arguably, part of the main werf, as it is only 600meters away from Gorras I (Figs 5.2, 5.20 & 5.21).

Figure 5. 20. Gorras IV location relative to the position of the main werf.

Figure 5. 21. Gorras IV in relation to the main werf

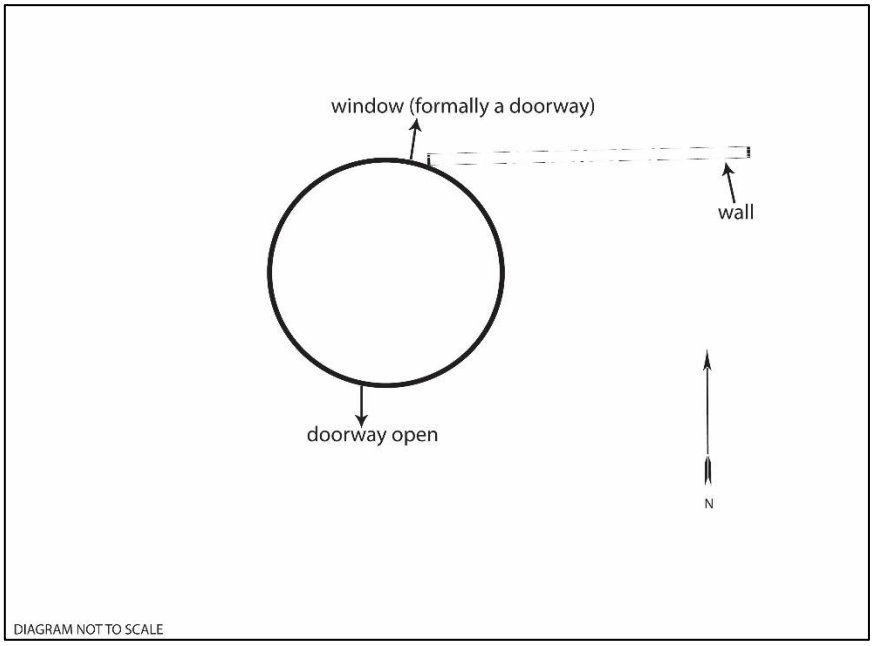

Figure 5. 22. Gorras IV Plan view.

The structure had no additional rooms added. At first glance it appears to have originally had only one door and one window. However, close inspection of the window indicates that it

first was a full doorway but has been subsequently modified and closed to create the window (Fig. 5.24). This indicates that Gorras IV, despite its small size, was built with two doors on opposite sides of the structure. This is peculiar given that the much larger Gorras I and III structures only had one door (Figs 5.23 and 5.24).

Figure 5. 23. Gorras IV front entrance.

Figure 5. 24. Gorras IV View from behind the corbelled house showing the modified doorway.

A clue as to why Gorras IV originally had two doors is that on the north eastern side of the structure, there is a large boulder wall that abuts the hut, (Figure 5.24) and runs up the drainage to the north (Fig 5.21).

Figure 5. 25. Boulder wall back view.

The wall built of large boulders runs in a straight line up the tributary drainage to the +-1890 large dam wall. This wall was in place before the dam wall, and its continuation upstream from the dam wall can be traced to 100 meters above the dam wall and possibly a further 50 meters to a rock step or sill in the riverbed (Fig 5.21). The eastern side of this drainage has a relatively sharp scarp edge that would have acted as a natural barrier, and consequently, there is no obvious wall down that side of the drainage. The function of the walls has to be either related with sheep rearing and acted as an enclosure, but more probably, like the walls built downstream from Gorras I, this was built as an ostrich pen (Fig. 5.2). This may explain why Gorras IV had two doors. It suggests that Gorras IV and the wall were built at the same time and the northern doorway was to facilitate easy access to the structure from the north without having to always climb over the wall. The closure of the northern doorway into a window suggests that the function of the wall/pen changed, and two doorways were no longer

required. If this interpretation is correct, then it possibly implied that the structure was built around the same time as Gorras I, however its absence on the 1873 survey map, indicates a later construction date. Whatever the case, the modification would suggest that ostrich feather production at some time after 1873 was not profitable or had ceased completely on the farm. I return to the issue of the wall below when I describe the middens and the excavations.

BLOCK HOUSES IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT OF GORRAS

An additional structure near to Gorras IV is located on top of the hill above the Carnarvon/Williston road to the south (Figs 5.2 & 5.26 a &b). The structure appears to be a circular walled fort that was used during the South African War and is a block house or sangar (Fig 5.26 a & b). If the structure was a sangar, it ideally would have a corrugated iron roof that provided protection from the elements (Figs 5.27 & 5.28). The trenches in the sangars housed small teams of about 12 men (National Army Museum London: NAM. 1963-08-121-1).

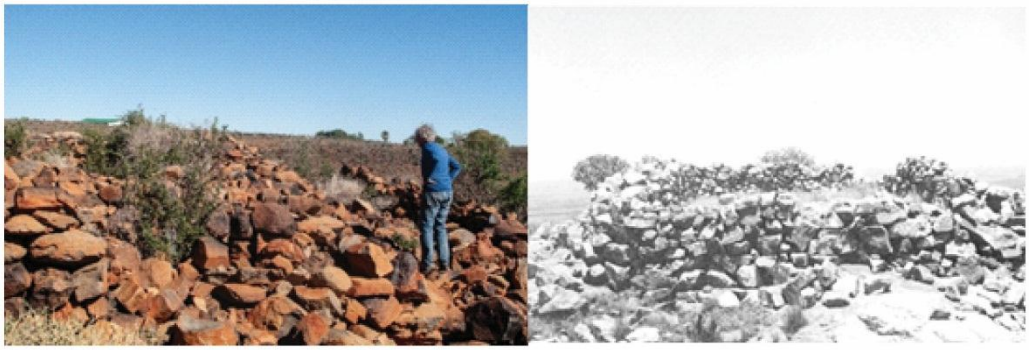

Figure 5. 26a. South African war fort or sangar. b. South African war sanger example Circular Looped South African war Sangar or Block House from South Hill (http://samilitaryhistory.org/vol076dp.html).

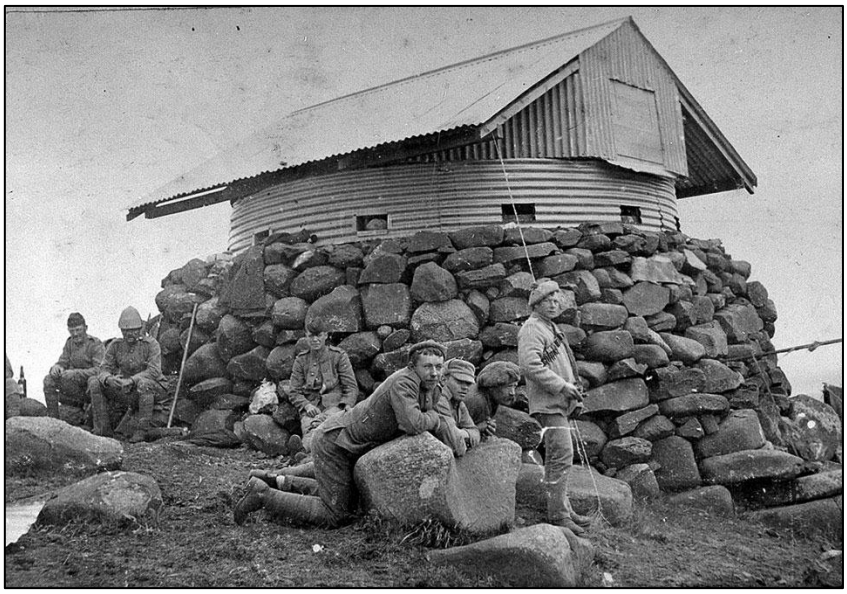

Figure 5. 27. British Sangar or Block House (National Army Museum London NAM. 2001-06-112-20).

During the South African war, there were three stages of offence, the first stage was the Boer offensive, where the Boer commandos invaded the northern parts of the Natal and the Cape Colony and laid siege on the British garrisons in Kimberley and Mafikeng and this lasted from 1899 up until mid-1900. The Second stage was the British offensive, which lasted up until the end of 1900. 1901 ushered in a third stage of guerrilla warfare, during which, the Boers engaged in a mobile offensive where they destroyed rail and transport network systems integral to the British offensive. As a response the British engaged in a scorched earth policy to deny supplies to Boer fighters, and Boer farms were burnt. In a bid to restrict Boer movement, the blockhouse system was developed along the road and railway line to protect the British supply system (Dedering 2000; Dooling 2009; see also https://www.angloboerwar.com/boer-war).

The Karoo was not touched by the first phase of the war offensive, and thus was the last to experience hostilities. In the early months of 1901, much Boer loyalty shifted in favour of the Boer commando forces, and General Maritz, with a commando of 100 men, captured the post cart route between Fraserburg, Williston and Sutherland. However, in November, the Boer hold on this region lessened with the strengthening of British columns in the Fraserburg region (Dooling 2009; see also Dedering 2000). The block house on Gorras indicates that the farm and the region was a strategic defence point of the Carnarvon/Williston road for the British during the scorched earth policy from 1901. It was part of a line of defence of a branch rail link westward off the main Beaufort West-Warrenton-Gaberones railway system towards Victoria West, Carnarvon, Williston, and on to Calvinia and Gorras farm fell within this line of blockhouse construction. As noted above, Gorras I and the Victorian house were built along the old main road, that connected with Carnarvon and the Gorras railway station. Oral information is that British generals occupied the Victorian house and that his family moved back into the corbelled house during the war. The family also grew wheat for the British soldiers billeted on the farm (Gys Van Wyk, pers. comm April 2018).

Two types of block houses have been noted, those built of stone and cement and those built of corrugated iron. The stone and cement masonry type forts were generally erected at places of strategic importance such as large bridges or stations. These were large solidly built military square or rectangular outposts with machicoulis galleries for machine-gun positions. The time and capital required to build this first type of block house was extensive, hence the adoption of the stone and corrugated iron block houses as a cheaper alternative. This type of block house consisted of two cylinders of corrugated iron with one of the cylinders smaller than the other so that it could fit into the other, with the gap between filled with gravel and soil. It had a pitched roof attached with water tanks placed outside. Although some were built

on wood bases, those located in the more arid regions of the Cape colony were built on stone bases, with a “pepper-pot” roof. These types of block houses were quickly erected and required 6 skilled men in contrast to the 30 skilled men required for the building of the stone masonry block houses (Fig 5.28) (NAM. 1963-08-121-1).

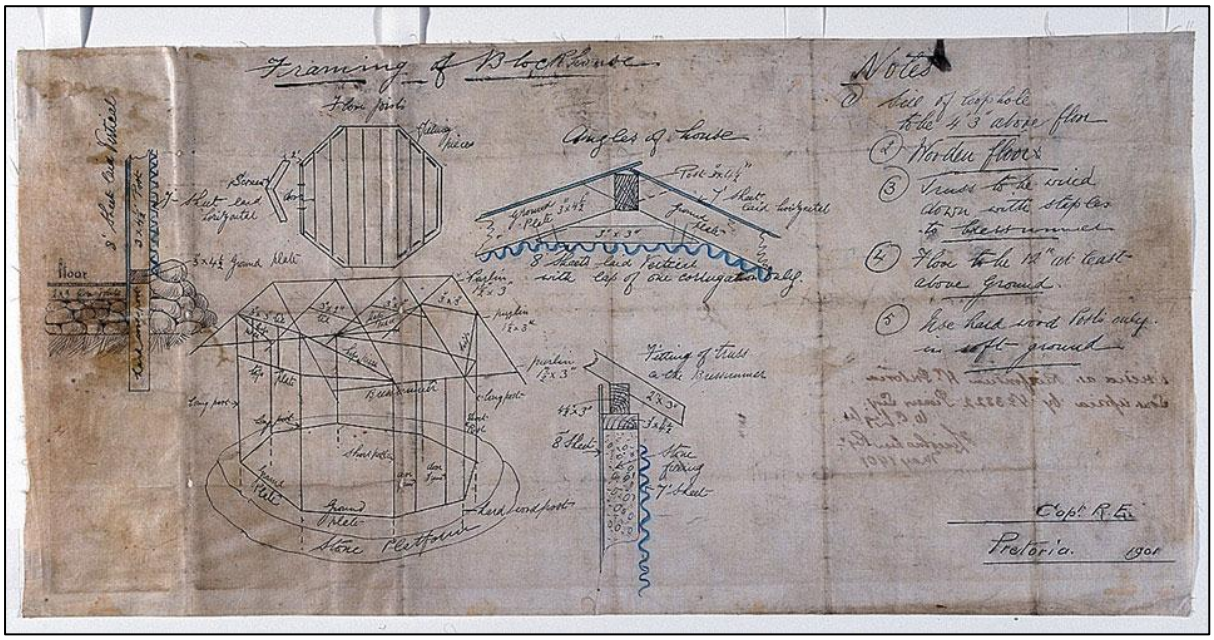

Figure 5. 28. Block House building plans (National Army Museum London: NAM. 1963-08-121-1).

A typical corrugated blockhouse of the type built on Gorras, consisted of a garrison of seven men, one junior NCO (non-commissioned officer) and six men, and a lieutenant would have been in charge of three to four block houses in a region. The food storage for the troops was kept in the space between the roof (https://www.bwm.org.au/blockhouses.php).

Given the oral information we have regarding the British occupation of the Victorian house, it is possible that the lieutenant in charge of the Gorras sangars was also in charge of other sangars in the area. A survey along the old wagon or track road is necessary to explore whether other sangars were built. The location of this sangar is strategically placed overlooking the Carnarvon/Williston road, that ran through the main Gorras werf (Fig 5.21) and there are possibly two more upstream. The location of the sanger was presumably to

protect the road and traffic on it, at the same time in the South African war when Boer commandos were fighting a guerrilla, mobile war. It is included here because some of the material from the Gorras IV excavations is relevant to the fort and consequently, to its use and later biography. I will further discuss the implications of this in the conclusion to this chapter.

EXCAVATED SEQUENCE

In the description of the corbelled structures and their architectural biographies, there are indications that the households changed. This was clearly the case with the additions of extra 'inside' spaces and modifications that changed the physical dynamics of the Gorras I and III households, their 'function', and possibly, the identity of occupants. It is because middens are integral to the spatial dynamics of these households, that I include their description here.

It is because Gorras I is at the centre of the main werf, that its midden was completely disturbed during the construction activities that expanded the werf after 1873. Therefore, it was impossible to be sure about the location of the midden. Consequently, a controlled surface pickup was conducted at the back of Gorras I, where there was a high density of material. The pickup used diagnostic features such as the decoration, ware type and features such as foot rings, makers marks and rims to discriminate on what would be collected. Glass was also collected. Similarly, all the identifiable metal was picked up. Owing to the fact that this area behind the house continues to be a place of sheep butchery, no fauna was collected.

GORRAS IV MIDDENS

The Gorras IV midden was the first to be excavated in April 2018. The midden forms part of the built environment and some stratigraphic relationships contribute to interrogating the architectural sequence discussed above. The midden is located 2 meters down slope from the

front doorway of the corbelled house (Figs 5.21 & 5.29) and slopes toward the river drainage immediately to the east stream that runs below (Figs 5.2 & 5.21). A cluster of large boulders protrude from the midden and are included in the excavation grid (Fig 5.31). Initially, it was thought that these boulders were geologically *in situ*, but upon excavation, it became clear that this cluster of boulders shared the same surface as the base of the ash, and pointed out that some of the boulders were actually stratigraphically part of the ash (Figs 5.29, 5.30 & 5.31).

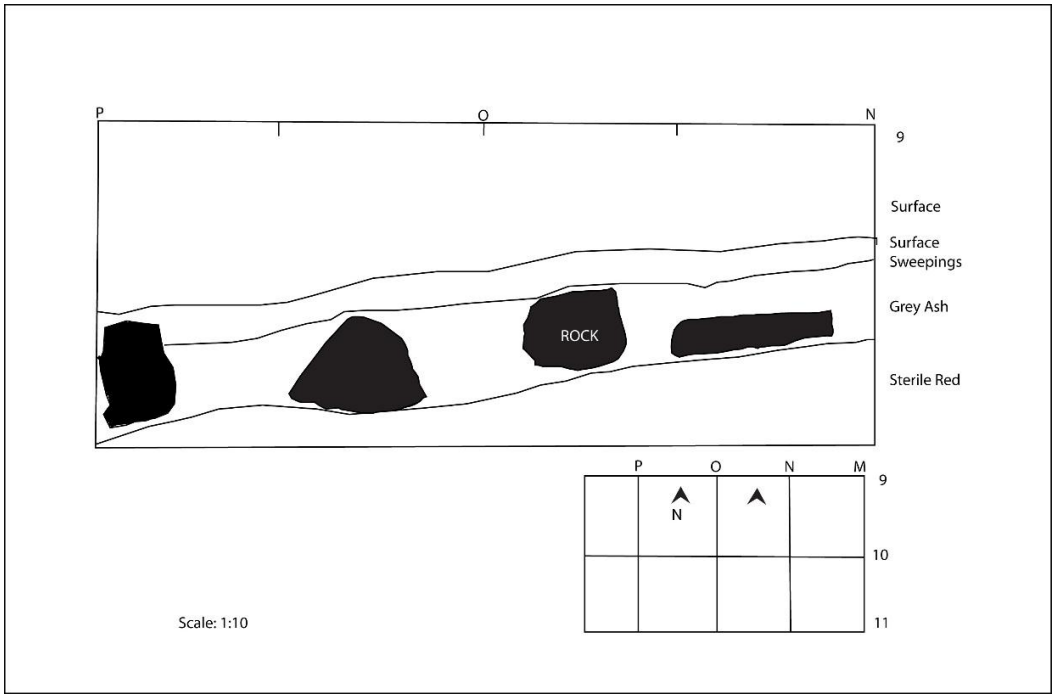

Figure 5. 29.Section drawing 1.

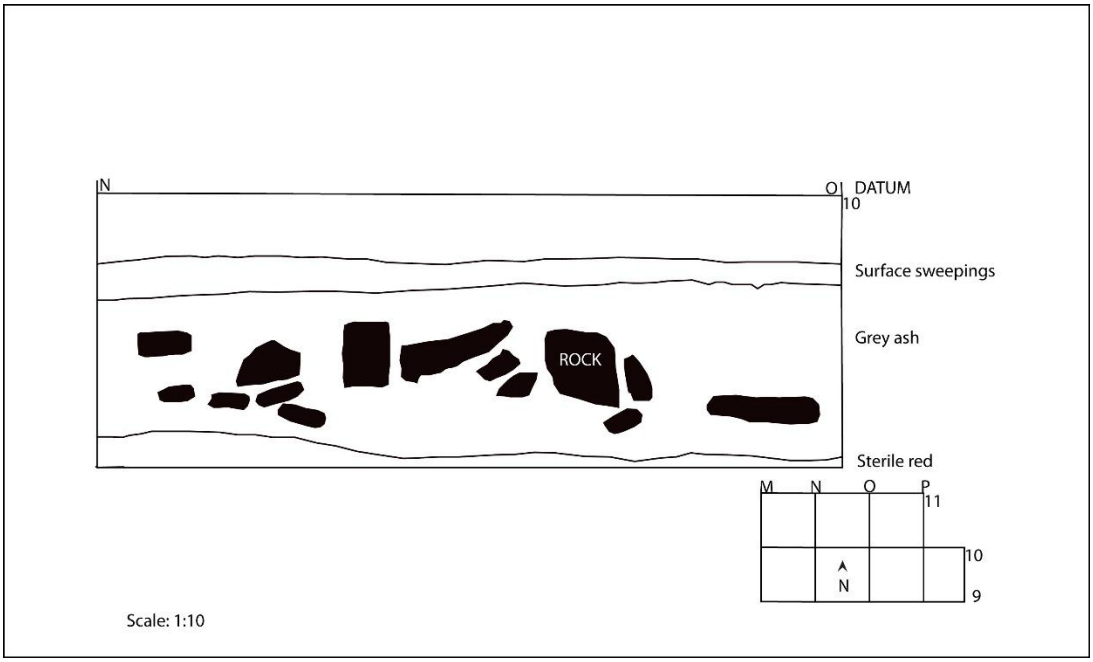

Figure 5. 30. Section drawing 2.

Figure 5. 31. Boulders nestled in Gorras IV grid.

Furthermore, the degree of oxidation and their average size, are exactly the same as the rock used to build the wall that abuts the corbelled structure on the north eastern side. This cluster of boulders, therefore, were either boulders that had been collected but were not used for construction or were the result, of partial dismantling of the wall. Additionally, lime nodules, debris from plastering and sealing the Gorras IV, littered the surface of the slope above the

midden and up to the wall. The two midden layers also yielded a significant amount of lime nodules formed from the burning of lime for the plastering of Gorras IV (Fig 5.32).

Figure 5. 32. **Gorras IV 1960 with plaster (Walton 1960).**

A small excavation below the wall showed that no lime and no cultural material was found stratigraphically below the base of the wall (Fig 3.33). The conclusion is that the construction of the wall and the corbelled structure took place at the same time. The interpretation given above, that the north facing doorway was integral to the corbelled structure is supported by this evidence, and that it was partially sealed, when the wall's function ended (i.e. the suggestion that ostrich feather production lapsed).

Figure 5. 33. Surface beneath the wall that abuts Gorras IV.

This also suggests that the midden was started soon after construction, and despite the presence of the second north west facing floor, all domestic activity took place down slope of the south east facing door. The grid was made up of 9 grid squares from L10, M10, M9, N10, N9, O10, O9, P10 and P9 (Fig 5.29; 5.30 &5.31). The excavation yielded two distinct stratigraphic layers. A surface sweep top layer with a thick ashy sediment and a mixture of bone and ceramic. The second layer was fully *in situ* composed of a light grey ash layer which produced significantly less ceramic and more bone. The bottom layer is basically culturally sterile and is a coppery red colour that corresponds with the natural soil surface. The ash yielded bone and fragments of burnt bone. When analyses were completed, the material from each square was combined, and the totals are given for the two stratigraphic layers. Eroded ceramic, glass and metal pieces were also sampled in a controlled surface collection.

GORRAS III MIDDENS

The Gorras III middens were excavated in August 2018 (Fig 5.34). Two middens were located to the east of the structure (Midden 2 is 10m from the structure and midden 3 is 3m) (Fig 5.29 &30). Midden 1 is a small mound of material 15m to the south east of the structure. The location of the middens on the eastern side of the structure places them in close

proximity to the room addition C (Fig 5.16), which has been identified as a kitchen. Additionally, the midden, the kitchen, and the entrance to the room B addition (Fig 5.15), are all on the opposite side to the stonewall kraals. There is clear spatial separation between them.

A question regarding these two middens is why there are two spatially distinct middens, and perhaps, whether this represents different occupations linked to the architectural sequence described earlier in this chapter. What might the material from the excavation say about change through time and possibly the different socioeconomics of household expansion? The middens, might therefore, represent distinct occupation phases of Gorras III. There was also a significant amount of rock rubble around midden 2 and this could have been a result of the construction of additional rooms to Gorras III, or alternatively, be linked to the mid-20th century when a structure associated with the current main road was built. Both the middens are shallow, and depth ranged between 10.5mm and 20mm.

A total of eight (1m) squares were excavated from midden 3. The deposit was a shallow and compact ash and yielded a significant faunal sample that was extremely burnt. There is an extensive scatter of material around both middens, and this was also sampled in a controlled pick up.

Figure 5. 34.. Location of midden 2 and midden 3.

In addition to the faunal sample, midden 3 also contained ceramics, glass and metal. The ceramics in this midden were fragmentary, the result possibly of exposure to ongoing farm activity. One notable characteristic of some of the refined earthenware was how the glaze and decoration peeled off from some of the ceramics. A significant attribute of the bone in midden 3 was that it was burnt and charred. This is probably the result of hot ash being thrown onto the midden and burning the bone in the midden, and not the result of how the meat was prepared and cooked. The discard of hot ash could have also contributed to the fragmentation of the ceramics. The glass in the assemblage survived much better, however, it was also consistently fragmentary.

Midden 2 (eight 1m squares excavated) had fine ash, which was brown in colour, and had significantly less bone than midden 3. This again raises the possibility that the two middens are chronologically separate and represent different phases in the occupation of Gorras III. If so, it is speculated that midden 2 closest to the corbelled structure, might be earlier however,

an analysis of the material from the excavation might direct the discussion around this differently.

DISCUSSION

This chapter has described the architectural and stratigraphic sequence of the corbelled structures on Gorras. This concluding discussion summarises the details of the architectural sequence and how they might relate to the broader economic history detailed in Chapter Four. Finally, I combine the documentary record and the characteristics of the corbelled structures in order to develop ideas about the occupant's identity. The presence of the ostrich pens around the main werf as well as the sheep kraaling systems on both the main werf and Gorras III point to the occupant's active involvement in the ostrich feather trade. Examples of ostrich pens are given in Figs 5.2 and 5.21. The ostrich pens downstream of the Gorras main werf are shown in Fig 5.2. These are +- 1 metre high dry-stone walls that are built roughly parallel to drainages, often along scarp edges on either side of a drainage. This is clearly the case with the Gorras ostrich pens. Additionally, ostrich pen walls enclose side tributaries of these main drainages. This is also illustrated in Figs 5.2 and 5.21. These walls therefore enclose large areas. These large 'pens' can be subdivided by walls that run roughly at right angles to the drainage and up to the scarp edge walls.

These large pens consistently enclose a habitat gradient from the scarp edges down to the riverine edge and the riverine vegetation. It is interesting that Karoo farmers acknowledge these enclosures as ostrich pens or camps but have little knowledge about how they worked. The habitat gradient in these enclosures suggest that their use was seasonal and coincided with the breeding season from June/July and into summer. While these larger pens could also have been used to manage sheep, sheep pens are smaller and, from the period from which Gorras was colonially farmed (from the 1860s), sheep pens were built of dry-stone walling

and were rectangular in shape. The sheep pens behind Gorras III are an example (see Fig 5.11). In the case of Gorras I the werf's architectural development through time is a testament to the growth in capital and ability to modify the property in the late 1800s, and this culminates with the building of a Victorian house on the property. Similarly, the extensions on Gorras III point to the financial means of the occupants as they were able to expand the domestic space to meet the needs of the family. The fact that there are no modifications after the two additions save for the 1930s bywoner rehabilitation house, points to the fact that the occupants of Gorras III were not landowners.

The documentary evidence links the first use of Gorras farm and Gorras I to the Jankowitz brothers. The corbelled structure had already been built when the Gorras farm survey was conducted in 1873 and therefore must have been built sometime between 1862 and 1873. We know also that the Van Wyks purchased the farm after 1873 and that they built the Victorian house either in the late 1880s or the early 1890s. We know that it had been built before the South African war because British military officers occupied the house during the war. This means that Gorras I was built by or for the Jankowitz brothers and that one, or both of them occupied it. As the Victorian house was only built sometime from the 1880s, this means that the Van Wyks occupied Gorras I soon after the Jankowitz brothers had left the farm.

The architectural additions to Gorras I significantly expanded the amount of space available and indicates an expanding household. These rectangular additions add substantially to Gorras I and must have been added on by the Van Wyks after 1873, and before the construction of the Victorian house. These additions most certainly indicate that the Van Wyk family, and the household needed to accommodate more people as the family and the needs of the household were expanding. These expansions materially add more dimensions to the werf around Gorras I and elaborated this area as the centre of the property.

The point coming out of this evidence about Gorras I was that the corbelled structure was occupied by Jankowitz, who leased the property, but also by the Van Wyks who were landowners. The expansions to Gorras I and the later construction of the Victorian house indicates that Van Wyk was successful, and this must have been based on both merino wool and ostrich feather production. Despite the fact that the documents mention that Jankowitz made improvements to the farm in the form of stone walls, dams and furrows, it may be that Jankowitz had limited capacity to really elaborate the infrastructure. While JC may have been responsible for some of the walling, the significant ostrich pens downstream from the Gorras I werf, the stone wall dam and the elaborate irrigation system for wheat and lucerne fields downstream of the werf, suggest considerable means and the imply that the Van Wyks were responsible for the significant elaboration of the farm's material infrastructure. While we cannot be sure, it would certainly potentially underpin significant production and economic success after the Van Wyks took ownership of the farm after 1873.

If this is the case, then the kafhok (the granary – Gorras II) could have been built by the Van Wyks and is a further testament to their success and the scale of their production. Additionally, the location of the kafhok and the trapvloer (threshing floor), that must have been located in front of the kafhok, is 200 metres upstream of Gorras I and 100 metres from the Victorian house. The location of Gorras II indicates that it is part of the developing Gorras I farmyard, and as noted above, may have been the work of the Van Wyks. The fact that Gorras II is not marked on the 1873 survey map indicates that it was built after this date, when the Van Wyks were owners.

The location of Gorras IV, which is further upstream from Gorras I, may also mark the continued expansion of the Gorras I werf. The fact that Gorras IV is also not marked on the survey map of 1873 also suggest that it was built after Jankowitz had left the farm. Compared to Gorras I, Gorras IV is a small corbelled structure. There were no room additions to Gorras

IV, and the only architectural sequence visible, is the closure of the north west facing door. As discussed above, this door closure suggests that this might have something to do with the changing function or use of the stone wall that abuts Gorras IV. If this was an ostrich camp, then the suggestion is that the modification of Gorras IV was made because this function ceased. Whatever the specific case, the size of Gorras IV is significantly smaller than Gorras I and the suggestion is that the occupants were certainly not landowners, but more likely labourers on the farm, or itinerant labourers, such as seasonal sheep shearers. The fact that Gorras IV had been built into the wall of either an ostrich or sheep camp further suggests that the initial occupants were directly involved in these activities.

Gorras III, as noted, is on the western end of Gorras at considerable distance from Gorras I and Gorras III. It is built at a comparable size to Gorras I. Of interest regarding the location of Gorras III is the motivation for its distance from the main werf. Was it built there as a dwelling to create distance between it and the main Gorras I werf, or was it strategically located as a dwelling for the practical purpose of the management of sheep on Gorras, which is of considerable size? Whatever the case, it may well have been built roughly around the time of Gorras I, but as noted for Gorras II and IV, Gorras III is not marked on the 1873 survey map. Presumably, a structure of some substance would have if it was there. So, as with Gorras II and IV, it is suggested that more likely, is that Gorras III, was also built after 1873.

Unlike Gorras IV, Gorras III was added onto and this was in the form of two additional rooms. One at the front could have been extra living space and the small addition on the eastern side of the Gorras III could have been a kitchen. While these additions also suggest the expansion of Gorras III as a household, comparison with the additions at Gorras I, indicates that the Gorras III additions were much smaller, less elaborate and the stone walls

were not plastered or built with mortar. Additionally, Gorras III obviously never developed as a farm centre, but it did have a significant sheep kraal system linked to it.

On the basis of these attributes, Gorras III, simply in terms of physical presence falls between Gorras I and Gorras IV meaning that it likely represents a mid-point between landowner and labourer. Gorras I has an elaborate sequence of room additions, whereas Gorras IV, aside from the closure of the 'back' door, has none. Gorras III also has a sequence of addition, but these are fewer and the rooms are small, and the suggested kitchen, may not have had a roof. Additionally, Gorras III has a spurt of development which is obviously never elaborated, as is the case with Gorras I, as part of the built fabric of a continuously developing farmyard. then stunted at a particular point in time. Given its position and these physical attributes, it is suggested that the occupants of Gorras III could have been semi-independent bywoners, with their own sheep, who were resident on the farm, and contributed labour to the farm, but were not landowners. Alternatively, Gorras III could have been a dwelling for farm 'foreman', who had considerably more status than the suggested labourer occupants of Gorras IV.

Given the information detailed in the architectural and excavation sequence, the timeline that emerges ranges from 1862 and continues well into 1937 and the mid to late 20th century. Distinct periods of occupation are the Jankowitz 1862-1871 occupation and the Van Wyk from 1873 until the present. Throughout this period, there are peaks and booms in both the ostrich and the wool trade, however, the Van Wyk wool becomes a highly prized item in the market and won a number of awards (Gys Van Wyk, pers. comm August 2018). The region is drawn into the South African war and the unification of South Africa is instituted. The post-war period created the conditions for a post-war depression which also affected these rural economies, but even in the face of this the Van Wyks clearly remained successful farmers. The architectural sequences are a remnant of the personal biographies experienced by the dwellers of the houses on Gorras farm. Having made some suggestions

about the identity of the occupants and their involvement in the regional rural economy in the second half of the 19th century, I now turn to assess these scenarios through the excavated material culture from the Gorras III and Gorras IV middens.

PART TWO:

EXCAVATION MATERIAL DESCRIPTION

METHODOLOGY

The next three chapters (Chapters Six, Seven and Eight) give the analysis of the material from the Gorras excavations. Given that the method used for the analysis of each of the material categories is the same I describe the method used in the analysis of the ceramics, the glass and metal here.

CERAMIC ANALYSIS METHOD

Using the typological classification developed by Klose and Malan (2005), the Gorras ceramics are classified based upon three attributes. These are ware type, decoration, and form and function. The primary ware types are, porcelain, stoneware and earthenware and further refined with subdivisions based on provenance, for example (Asian Porcelain and European porcelain). The VOC Asian porcelain before 1800 is easily identified. With the British takeover of the Cape in 1806, the global market was flooded with pottery from the English Staffordshire potteries and technological innovation. For the British markets, bone china gained popularity as a substitute for the expensive Asian porcelain. This dominance of industrial wares in the Cape in the 19th century has been noted (Malan 1993; Klose 2000, Klose 2009 and Malan & Klose 2003; Zachariou 2017) and relates to the transition from the Dutch to the British period and the sharp decline of Asian imported ceramics. Towards the end of the 19th century and early 20th century, we see a rise in occurrence of bone china (Miller 1980; Klose & Malan 2000; Malan & Klose (2003).

My analysis of the ceramic residue utilizes the approach developed by Klose & Malan (2004; 2009) and applied by Moffett (2010) and Zachariou (2017) at Schimmelfontein and Kerkplaats, both in the Karoo. The studies by Moffett (2010) and Zachariou (2017) adapted the Klose and Malan (2004; 2009) system for 19th century ceramic analysis, and I apply their modifications in my analysis (Gorras IV in chapter six, Gorras III midden 2 in chapter seven

and Gorras III midden 3 in chapter eight). First, I give a basic classification by ware type and then I further extend this classification to include the provenance (Klose and Malan 2004). The ware distinction between the 18th and 19th century ceramics is clear. Additionally, the 19th century ceramics become more complex in their decoration and this attribute is a key chronological marker and chronological indicators are suggested by decoration pattern (Moffett 2010; Zachariou 2017).

The analysis of the 19th century Gorras ceramics show the dominance of refined industrial wares, European porcelain and some stoneware. There is no Asian earthenware, African mixed farmer earthenware and tin-glazed ware, and consequently, they are excluded from my table of ware types. The Gorras IV surface scatter, however, did yield some Asian porcelain and Ginger jars, that continued to be used through the 19th century. The high frequency of refined European earthenware vessels is a good chronological marker that places the assemblages late in the 19th century, and this is not surprising given the farm history outlined above.

In my analysis of the Gorras ceramics, I make an attempt to distinguish between 'white ware' types. Klose & Malan (2000) note that the variety of different coloured white wares decreased by the 1830s, and over the century, lost their diverse colouration and they became distinguished as 'whiteware' in the singular (Klose & Malan 2000). The late 19th century and 20th century whitewares that become prominent, are body types commonly referred to as 'iron stone', 'white granite', 'stone china,' as well as 'semi-porcelain' (Moffett 2010:55). The Gorras assemblages are almost entirely made up of industrial earthen 'whitewares'. These terms were commonly used for marketing purposes so as to emphasizes the strength and durability of the vessels and their hygienic properties (Moffett 2010, Slesin & Rozensztoch 1997).

British potters introduced them to compete with the popular Asian imports. Asian imported porcelain was heavily taxed, and British potters sought to produce these refined industrial wares that were less expensive (Godden 1999). The success of these vessel types is seen in "every hotel or café we might visit. The durable so-called 'Hotel Wares' and kitchen wares…related to the nineteenth century stone china as introduced by the Masons in 1813" (Godden 1999:15).

GLASS ANALYSIS METHOD

During the 19th century, glass production became more standardized due to the heavy industrialization that led to the majority of glass being machine made (Lorrain 1968). In light of this, colour in the 19th century is a useful attribute for categorization although it has often been seen as problematic as colour alone is difficult to use in ascertaining function. The diagnostic features were therefore used in conjunction with the colour in formulating minimum vessel counts (MNV) and determining the function of the glass. Therefore, all the Gorras glass was subdivided by colour, and within these colour groups the diagnostic parts of the vessels were identified and categorised either by base, neck, shoulder, lip, makers mark or embossing and/decoration.

Similarly, the glass from all the surface pick-ups was subdivided using this method. All adiagnostic glass was weighed, labelled and bagged. Glassware is divided into several broad functional classifications and it is against these that the assemblage from Gorras is also assessed. Glass has a number of functional categories, one of the main categories is the container. This is a general term used to categorize commercial bottles and jars and can include canning jars, nursing bottles and toiletry bottles for a dressing table. In the majority of instances these container type vessels outnumber all other functional types (Jones et.al 1985:9; see also Aultman et.al 2003). Once the MNV was calculated, the diagnostic features

of the glass and the colour were used to describe the form and function of the vessel. Vessels were then identified as either beverage container, toiletry or apothecary, tableware, fixtures or as unidentified. If the category did not apply to the assemblage, it was excluded from the tables and graphs. The Parks Canada glass glossary by Jones et.al (1985) as well as Lorraine (1984) were used in the analysis. The diversity of glass containers in terms of their range and variety underpins the mass production and commoditisation of the 19th century. This has important implications in terms of purchasing power, the ability to choose and the means to indulge.

Vessels can also come in the form of tableware and this is a general term used to classify vessels used to serve food and drink and decorative items such as pitchers. These are usually the second most occurring vessel in an assemblage and they become common in the late 19th century up until the 20th century. It has been noted that tableware can be useful for establishing socioeconomics (Jones et.al 1985). The other categories include 'closures' and these were items associated with containers or tableware, lighting devices were also quite common, in the form of lamps, candlesticks, chimney lamps and light bulbs (Jones et.al 1985). Flat glass is also a common category of vessel types and it is commonly used for windows and mirrors, these become a common occurrence in the late 19th century. Finally, miscellaneous glassware which broadly would cover a host of glassware objects such as pharmaceuticals, marbles and doorknobs for example (Jones et.al 1985). This all speaks to the fundamental complexities of a household and how a 'mix' of commodities reflects how that household is put together.

METAL ANALYSIS METHOD

Metal in historical archaeological contexts can be difficult to analyse due to the high corrosion that happens during deposition. The metal was counted per layer and a percentage frequency constructed per layer. Following this a count was made after the diagnostic pieces were grouped into categories, such as jewellery and ornamental, wire, nails, household items, miscellaneous iron pieces and rods, recycled tin, recycled alloys, tin sheets, locks, spikes, fasteners (studs and clothing) and springs. Percentage frequencies were calculated following the minimum count.

FAUNAL ANALYSIS

The fauna was only assessed qualitatively, and general observations were made regarding the species and the quality of the bone.

CHAPTER SIX

DECRIPTION OF GORRAS IV EXCAVATION MATERIAL

This chapter describes the excavated material for Gorras IV. In the biography (Chapter Five), I introduced three scenarios regarding the size of the corbelled structures on Gorras farm and considered the sequence of additions to the structures. It has been suggested that Gorras I, whose size and additional rooms and its association with the furrows, dams and the merino wool boom Victorian house, is representative of the economics and means of both J.C. Jankowitz, a prospective landowner, and of J.K. Van Wyk, the actual landowner after 1873. In contrast, Gorras III, in its distance and isolation from the main werf, the presence of a kraal system and a well 800 metres away, point to a degree of separation/independence from the main werf and thus the possibility of the structure being occupied by a bywoner. We therefore have to ask whether the location of this house (Gorras III), represents an aspect of being 'pushed' to the margin or being 'pulled' to the margin. This will be discussed in the concluding discussion to these three chapters.

The case for Gorras IV is that the structure is small and menial and there are no additional rooms added to the structure apart from the ostrich pen walls that link up to the house. The distance of this structure from the main werf, suggests that its proximity underpins a dependent link with Gorras I. In combination, these attributes and factors suggest that Gorras IV was built and occupied by dependent farm workers. Given this supposition, this chapter approaches the description of excavated material from the excavation in order to test this scenario. The descriptions that follow will first look at the associated ceramics, followed by the glass and metal. The faunal remains are only assessed qualitatively.

GORRAS IV CERAMIC ANALYSIS: WARE TYPES

The ceramics were sorted into earthenware, stoneware and porcelain (Table 6.1 and Fig 6.1). The assemblage is made up almost completely of European refined earthenware, it makes up more than 75 % of the assemblage MNV followed by European stoneware (14 %) and European porcelain or china (11%). The total number of sherds per ware was established and an estimate MNV count was made based on diagnostic features most frequently used for ceramic analysis. The vessel counts were established using the diagnostic features which relate to vessel form such as foot rings, rims, handles, decoration and design and makers marks. These counts represent, the combined ceramics from the grey ash layer and the surface sweepings.

The excavated ceramic assemblage comprised a total of 106 sherds. This total was dominated by European refined industrial earthenware (Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1). Table 6.1 lists both the total number of sherds and the MNV counts. The description of ceramics that follows will start with the least occurring ceramic category and conclude with the European refined industrial ware.

Table 6. 1. Gorras IV classification by ware types.

GORRAS IV WARE TYPES	TOTAL SHERD COUNT	%TOTAL SHERDS	MNV	% MNV
European Refined Industrial Earthenware	78	73.6	33	75
European Stoneware	9	8.5	6	14
European Porcelain/China	19	17.9	5	11
Totals	106	100	44	100

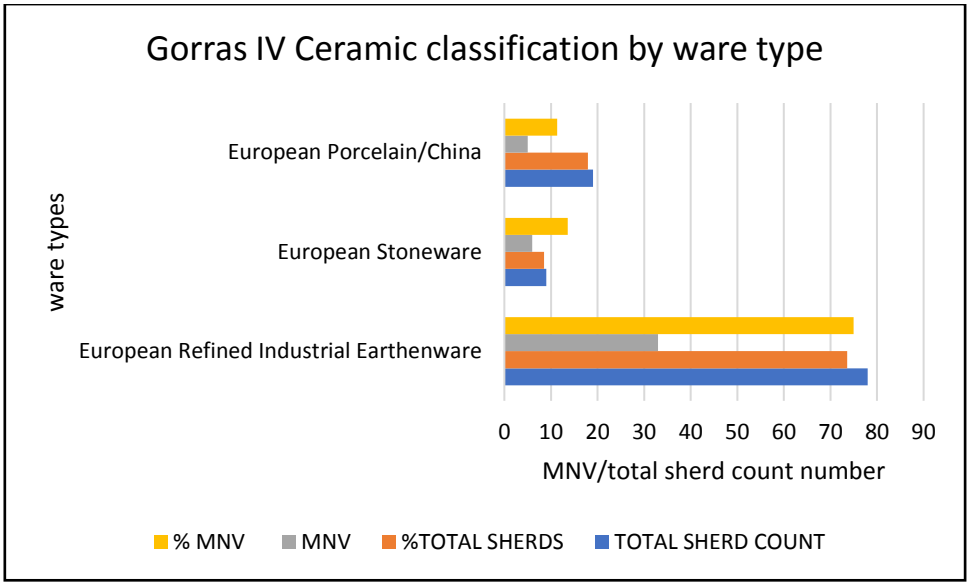

Figure 6. 1. Gorras IV Classification by ware type

I discuss the different ware types below.

PORCELAIN

Porcelain is the least occurring ware type in the assemblage and is largely English bone china represented by one teacup handle, a small saucer (Fig 6.2) and a moulded and painted sherd (Fig 6.3). The moulded and blue painted sherd looks like a shell-edge decoration plate, however, shell-edge decorated plates were made from cheap industrial earthenware (Miller 1980) and it is therefore, likely that this fragment comes from an ornament due to its delicate body and ware type.

Figure 6. 2. Gorras IV Porcelain saucer and cup

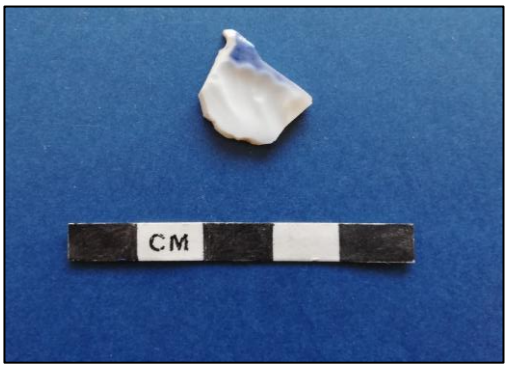

Figure 6. 3. Gorras IV Moulded and painted porcelain.

STONEWARE

The frequency of stoneware in the assemblage is limited (Table 6.1, Figure 6.1). A total of 6 stoneware vessels is represented by 9 sherds (Fig 6.4). Klose & Malan (2000) note that stoneware vessels in the Cape were "mainly salt-glazed wares from Europe (Germany)… from 1810 to the early 1900s" (Klose and Malan 2000:50, 2005, 2007). The examples from Gorras IV are salt glazed and there is one liquid glazed pale grey vessel.

Figure 6. 4.Stoneware from Gorras IV.

EUROPEAN REFINED INDUSTRIAL EARTHENWARE

The refined industrial earthenware dominates the assemblage and is represented by a variety of undecorated and decorated vessels (see Miller 1980 for the classification of different white wares and undecorated vessels pre and post 1820). Cream coloured ware (CC) is an index developed by Miller (1980; 1991), using potters price fixing index lists so that archaeologists can assess ceramics at 18th and 19th century cost. It is a base for measuring the cost of other decoration types against the price of CC (cream coloured or white wares) which later evolved to whiteware as the 19th century progressed. CC would be at the lower end of the pricing scale index. Miller's price scaling index is useful, however, its direct applicability to rural contexts needs to be carefully assessed because of the nature of the supply chain. As noted earlier, although rural supply shifted through the development of transport infrastructure, itinerant traders (smous) supplied landowners who potentially acted as a middleman to farm workers (see also Moffett 2010 and Zachariou 2017). Consequently, in deep rural South Africa, 'cost' at the point of use may be very different from cost at the point of production. With this in mind I apply Miller's index as a base to explore the relative ceramics from Gorras and will further discuss the implications of differential access to ceramic vessels in the discussion.

The first price scale referred to undecorated vessels, which after 1820 were commonly chamber pots, plates, bowls and ceramic vessels used as kitchen ware (Miller 1980:3). The white granite sometimes referred to as iron stone vessels that occur from the 1850s do not fall in this category as they were slightly more expensive than the 'CC' (cream coloured) vessels (Miller 1980; 1991).

The second price scale refers to vessels with relatively limited decoration that do not require a high skill profile to make (Miller 1980). This category includes shell-edged, sponge decorated, banded, mocha and slip decorated vessels. The third pricing scale level includes

painted industrial wares with motifs such as flowers, leaves, stylized Chinese landscapes or geometric patterns. Finally, Miller (1980) defines a fourth pricing level, decorated by transfer printing which was a means of producing matching sets at relatively lower cost compared to painted matched sets (Miller 1980). Through the 19th century the transfer printed wares became cheaper than the 'CC' undecorated and whiteware vessels. Given the diversity and range of European refined earthenware vessels, and that decoration becomes an important chronological and economic indicator, I separated the European refined earthenware and stoneware categories by decoration types (Table 6.2 and Fig 6.5).

Table 6. 2. Gorras IV classification by decoration (excluding European porcelain).

CERAMIC DECORATION TYPES	TOTALS NUMBER OF SHERDS	% TOTAL NUMBER OF SHERDS	MNV	MNV%
Undecorated	41	40.6	10	**26.3**
Transfer printed	29	28.7	13	**34.2**
Painted	14	13.9	6	**15.8**
Sponged	3	3.0	3	**7.9**
Modified Edge	1	1.0	1	**2.6**
Glazed stoneware	9	8.9	5	**13.2**
Unglazed stoneware	1	1.0	1	**2.6**
TOTALS	**101**	**100**	**38**	**100**

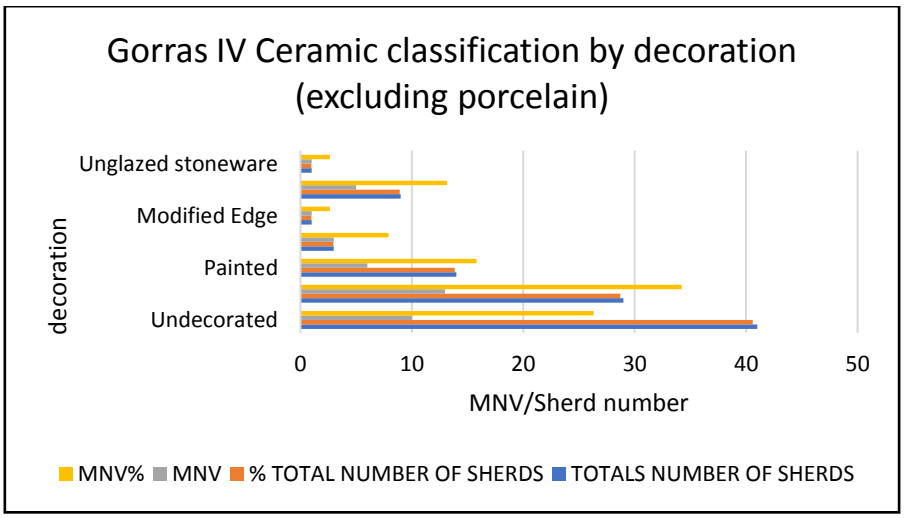

Figure 6. 5. Gorras IV European refined industrial earthenware and stoneware classification by decoration (excluding porcelain).

UNDECORATED WHITEWARE

Refined industrial earthenware vessels dominate the assemblage, and undecorated types dominate within this ware type. The assemblage from Gorras IV has a high frequency of undecorated refined earthenware vessels which contributes 26.3% of the assemblage (Table 6.2, Figure 6.5). The undecorated category obviously could include fragments of decorated body. Therefore, in order to assess whether the vessel was undecorated a preliminary distinction was made between hollow ware and flatware because flatware decoration is on the upper surface. Printed and painted decoration is largely on the rim or on the upper surface of the vessel, and the decoration radiated from the rim to the centre of the vessel. The expectation was that if the rim was undecorated then the rest of the vessel would also be undecorated (Miller 1980; 1991). For hollowware forms, the decoration is largely on the outer surface of the vessel above the foot ring (Miller 1980; 1991; Moffett 2010; Zachariou 2017).

TRANSFER PRINTED

The transfer printed vessels make up 34.2% of the assemblage (Table 6.2, Fig. 6.5). I, therefore, sub-divided the transfer prints according to colour (Table 6.3, Fig. 6.6). At Gorras IV, blue and green transfer print plates are the most popular in the assemblage with blue transfer prints having a total MNV of 46.2%, while green transfer prints making up MNV counts of 38%. In the early 19th century, these two colours are the most popular. In the later 19th century, colour becomes less important as a chronological marker and instead, the design and the placement of the design becomes a more dominant chronological marker. Throughout the 19th century there is a marked transition from the print being on the whole vessel, to the print occupying just the edge of the vessel (Majewski and O'Brien 1979; Copeland 1982; Moffett 2010). This seems to be the case for the Gorras IV transfer printed ceramics in which the decoration for the identified MNV plates is exclusively on the rim for the green and black

transfer printed sherds, whereas the design is on the whole upper surface of the vessel in the case of the blue transfer prints. The designs relating to the colour profile will be discussed in the sections that follow, using the modified table supplied (Samford 1997, Tables 6.4 and 6.5) to highlight the chronology of the assemblage based on both design and colour.

Table 6. 3 Gorras IV: Transfer printed vessels

TRANSFER PRINT COLOUR	TOTAL COUNTS	% TOTAL COUNTS	MNV	MNV%
Blue transfer print	16	55.2	6	**46.2**
Red transfer print	4	13.8	1	**7.7**
Black transfer print	3	10.3	1	**7.7**
Green transfer print	6	20.7	5	**38.5**
TOTALS	**29**	**100**	**13**	**100**

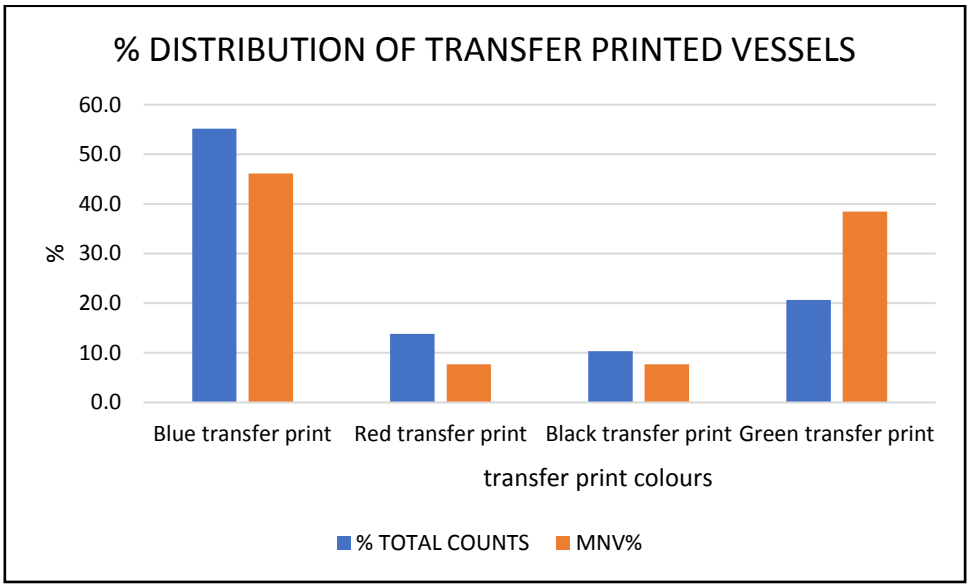

Figure 6. 6. Gorras IV % Distribution of transfer prints.

Table 6. 4. Date ranges for central designs on printed wares (Samford 1997).

DESIGN	MEAN BEGINING DATE	MEAN END DATE	RANGE OF PRODUCTION
Chinese	1797	1814	1783-1834
British Views	1813	1839	1793-1868
Chinoiseries	1816	1836	1783-1873
Pastoral	1819	1836	1781-1859
Exotic Views	1820	1842	1781-1868
Floral			
Sheet Patterns	1826	1842	1795-1867
Central Patterns	1833	1849	1784-1869
Classical	1827	1847	1793-1868
Romantic	1831	1851	1793-1870
Gothic	1841	1852	1818-1890
Japanese	1882	1888	1864-1907
No Central	1868	1878	1845-1920

Table 6. 5. Date ranges on colour printed wares (Samford 1997).

COLOUR	MEAN BEGINNING DATES	END PRODUCTION DATES	RANGE OF PRODUCTION
Dark Blue	1819	1835	1802-1846
Medium Blue	1817	1834	1784-1859
Black	1825	1838	1785-1864
Brown	1829	1843	1818-1869
Light blue	1833	1848	1818-1867
Green	1830	1846	1818-1859
Red	1829	1842	1818-1880
Purple	1827	1838	1814-1867
Lavender	1830	1846	1818-1871
Mulberry	1837	1852	1818-1870
Pink	1827	1842	1784-1864
Two colour printing	1831	1846	1818-1866
Brown on ivory body	1881	1888	1873-1895
Black on ivory body	1883	1889	1879-1890

There were a number of colour and design changes through the 19th century due to the systemization of the production process and attempts to create low cost versions of porcelain like ceramics. The designs that were dominant on transfer printed vessels often had romantic scenery as well as natural borders and open treatments (Copeland 1982; Moffett 2010). The Gothic revival between 1820s and 1870s was also very influential and ceramics often featured castles, churches, ruins, and medieval like structures (Samford 1997; Moffett 2010). Transfer printed types have the most variety in terms of colour and design and they are by far the most common decorated ware types represented in this assemblage other than the undecorated types. The diversity of colour types and prints in the Gorras IV assemblage is expected, as the end of the industrial revolution introduced a variety of colours and designs that could be used in the ceramic manufacturing process (Miller 1980; 1991).

BLUE TRANSFER PRINTS

The blue transfer printed sherds contribute 46.2% MNV of the transfer printed vessels (Table 6.3 and Fig 6.6). The design of the vessels from Gorras IV is on the rim of the vessel and upper surface of the vessel. Some of the fragments were possibly part of larger plates. Figure 6.7 is representative of a chinoiserie pattern which was largely popular from the beginning to the second half of the 19th century (Table 6.4, Samford 1997). This design was usually part of

a dinner or serving plate. It is characterized by geometric patterns in the form of shapes and stylized prints (Moffett 2010; Samford 1997). Moreover, they had a design focus whose subject was largely based upon Chinese landscapes or riverscapes. Most of the willowware pattern ceramics with chinoiserie design have as the main motif of the ceramic, a temple, cranes in the sky as well as well as dramatic hill landscapes that represented Asian landscapes (Copeland 1982; Samford 1997).

Technological development through the 19th century introduced more colours into transfer printed vessels. In terms of price, transfer printed vessels were some of the most affordable (Moffett 2010). There are fragments of printed Asian Pheasant (Fig 6.8) with print dates from the 1860s. They most commonly applied to dinning and table ware sets and were popular from the later end of the 19th century (Copeland 1982).

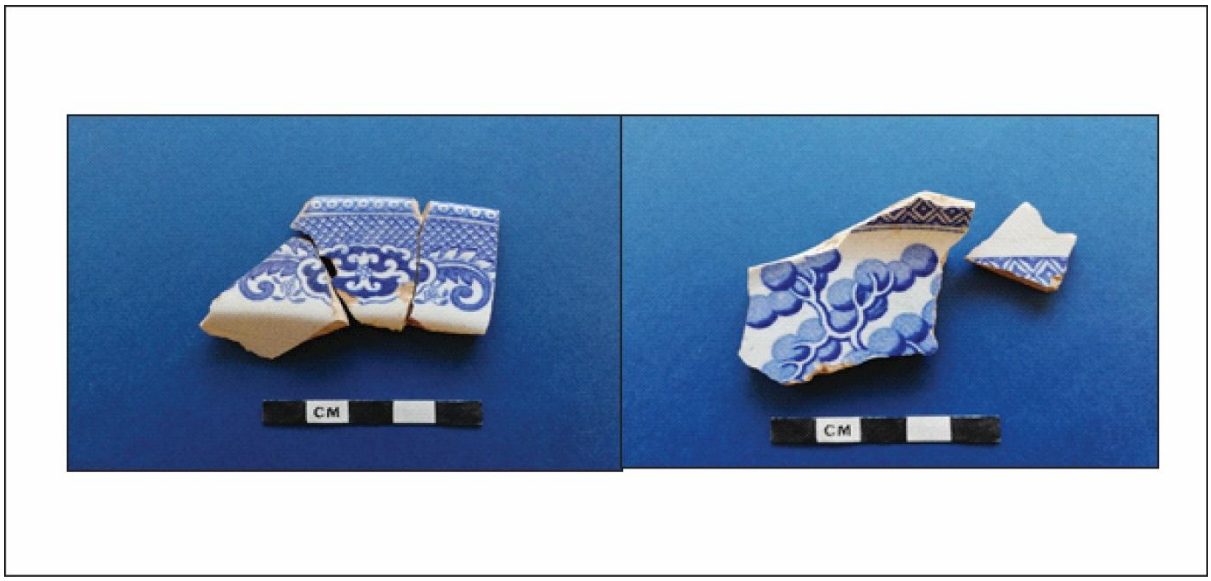

Figure 6. 7. Printed blue willow pattern on flatware Japanese design or Chinese chinoiserie pattern from Gorras IV

Figure 6. 8..Asian pheasant fragments.

GREEN TRANSFER PRINT

Green transfer prints made up 38.5% of the MNV. One of the most striking green transfer printed vessels from Gorras III has a floral pattern with some intertwining vines as well as some geometric arrow-like prints on the edge of the rim of the herringbone design (Fig 6.9). The peak period of popularity for green transfer colour ranged between 1818 and the 1850s however, it did continue to be produced into the later 19th and 20th century. The central floral sheet design focused on the rim of the vessel has a peak production date that ranges between 1785 and 1870 (see Samford 1997).

Figure 6. 9. Green transfer printed floral and vine design.

BLACK TRANSFER PRINT

There are three black transfer printed vessels (see Figs 6.10, 6.11a and 6.11b). One black transfer printed plate has some foliage printed on it (Fig 6.10), possibly a scenic vista or rural pastoral scene, but cannot be allocated to any style (i.e. romantic, gothic or the Japanese period). The pastoral views were popular from the late 18th century well into the 1850s. The use of black as a transfer print had a peak production rate in the mid-late 19th century, however, it was produced well into the 20th century.

Figure 6. 10. Black transfer print.

A sherd from a bowl with the makers mark 'boch', likely has a late 19th century date (Fig 6.11) and made by the Royal Boch company in Belgium. The Boch website notes that the mark commonly lacked the Heraldic lion and that it was often printed in black but also in green or red-brown and that it was commonly made from the 1880s up until the end of the century (https://www.royalboch.com/en/history/).

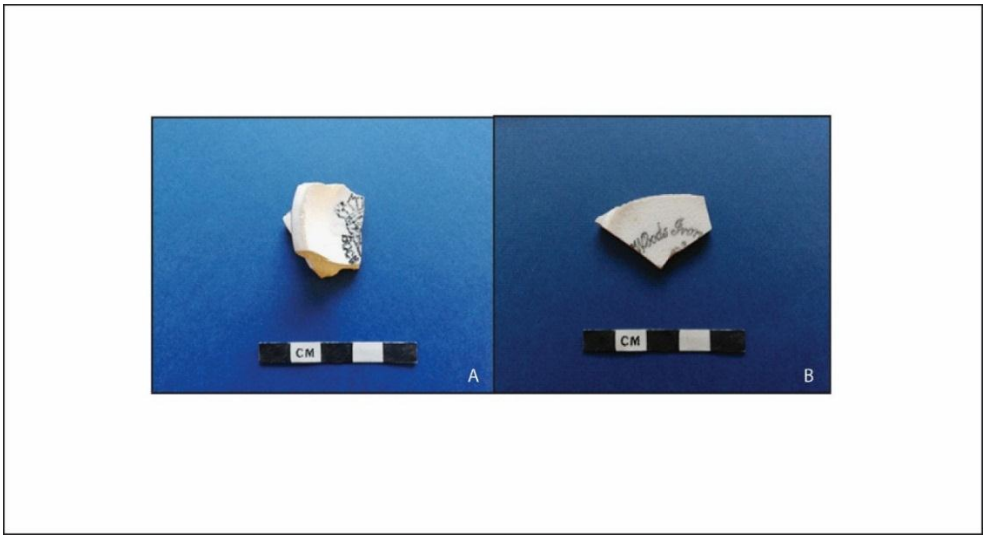

Figure 6. 11a. Royal Boch makers mark on the base of a bowl. Boch' makers mark which has an iconic crown over it. 6.11b 'Wood Ivory' makers mark

The latest date we have for the undecorated refined earthen wares in the Gorras IV assemblage is provided by a 'Wood Ivory' makers mark (Fig 6.11b) which has a 1930s and 1940s date (http://www.potteryhistories.com/wood.html). 'Wood Ivory' came out of the Wood & Sons Ltd business established by Absalom Wood and his son in 1865. The piece of ceramic in Figure 6.11b is referred to as ivorine china, a type of semi- porcelain body (http://www.potteryhistories.com/wood.html).

RED TRANSFER PRINT

The assemblage has one red or pink transfer printed fragment. The floral design is on the rim of a plate and has some geometric patterns (Fig 6.12). Red transfer print was popular from the early 19th century and well into the 1880s. The ceramic sherd indicates that the design is concentrated centrally. The central floral design had a peak production range between 1793 and 1862 (Samford 1997).

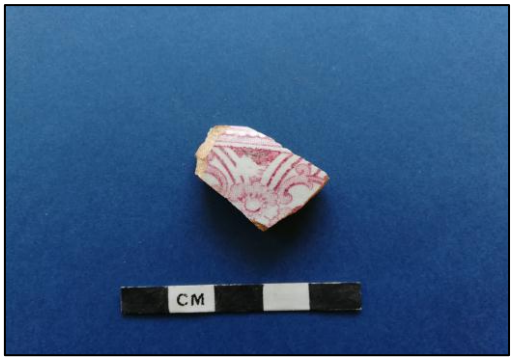

Figure 6. 12. Red/Pink transfer print vessel.

PAINTED, SPONGED AND ANNULAR DECORATION

The Gorras IV assemblage has a surprisingly low frequency of painted and sponged ceramics. They make up 20% of the European refined industrial earthen ware assemblage (Table 6.2, Figure 6.13).

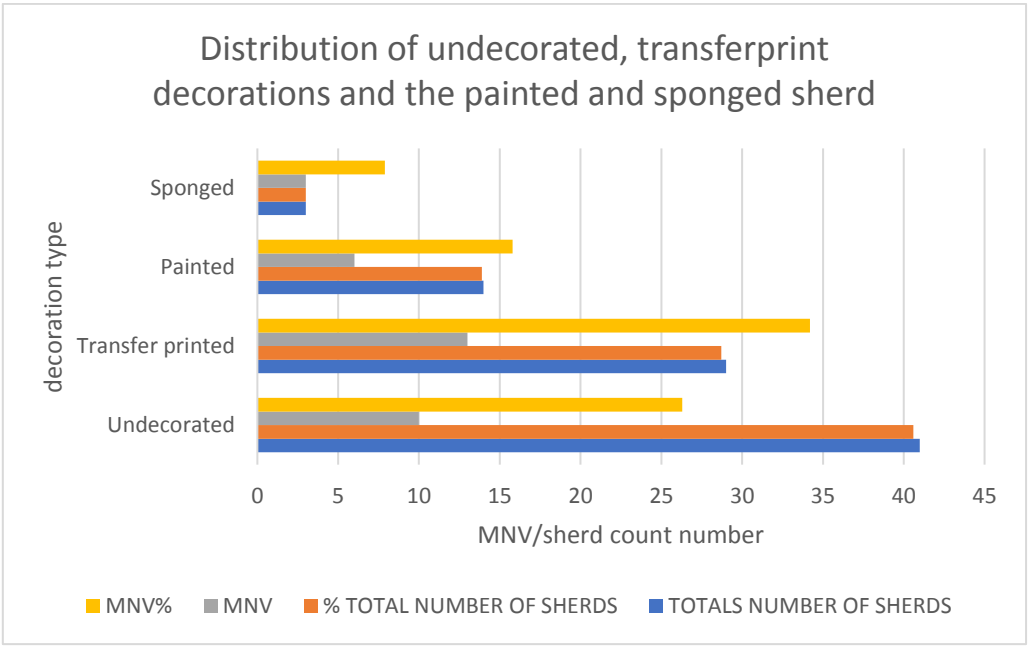

Figure 6. 13. **Comparison of transfer printed ceramics versus painted and sponged ceramics**.

The painted category makes up the majority and there are only 3 MNV sponged vessels.

PAINTED CERAMICS

The painted ceramics are decorated with harsh polychrome designs and lined bands located on the rim of the vessel. The painted wares of the second half of the 19th century had harsh colours and were often referred to as 'boerenbont' farmer/peasant gaudy ware in South Africa (Klose and Malan 2000).

Figure 6. 14. A sample of painted vessels from Gorras IV.

The painted pieces largely come from plates and some bowls (Fig 6.14). The plates have thick lined bands on the upper surface of the ceramic, whilst the bowls have thick lines with floral and geometric designs painted around the rims and bodies on the outside of the vessel. Bowls also have lines below the rim on the inside. The designs vary from polka dots, flowers and greenery. There are no slipware sherds in the excavated material, however there are three fragments of slipware from the surface pick up around the possible-cook *skerm* (kitchen area). With regard to the chronology, the presence of these harsh multi-coloured polychrome ceramics points to a mid to late 19th century date as the softer polychrome vessels had an early 19th century date (Miller 1991; Miller et.al 2000; see also Zachariou 2017). The design aesthetic of the Gorras IV painted vessels fits the profile of the harsh vibrancy expected of the 'boerenbont' vessels and would have been the cheapest decorated ceramic types. Both Miller

(1980, 1991) and Klose and Malan (2009) note that these ware types were the dominant type of painted ware in South Africa up until the end of the 19th century (see also Zachariou 2017).

SPONGEWARE

There are only 3 fragments of sponge identified in the assemblage contributing 4.6% of the total MNV of the European refined industrial earthenware (Table 6.2, Figure 6.13). The sponge ware vessels are mostly blue and fit the harsh colour profile expected of the painted and sponged vessels of the mid to late 19th century.

The cut sponge wares "vary considerably and each combination of patterns is slightly different" (Moffett 2010:63). They usually form bands of decorations with flowers such as 'twigged roses', lozenges and stars (Moffett 2010:63). The cut sponge was popular from 1845 up until the 1870s in America and into the 20th century in Europe (Majewski & O'Brien 1987: 161; Samford et.al.1989). The open sponge style was common from the 1860s up until 1935 (Fig 6.15). The Gorras IV assemblage mainly has open sponge as the dominant design and points to a late 19th century and early 20th century date.

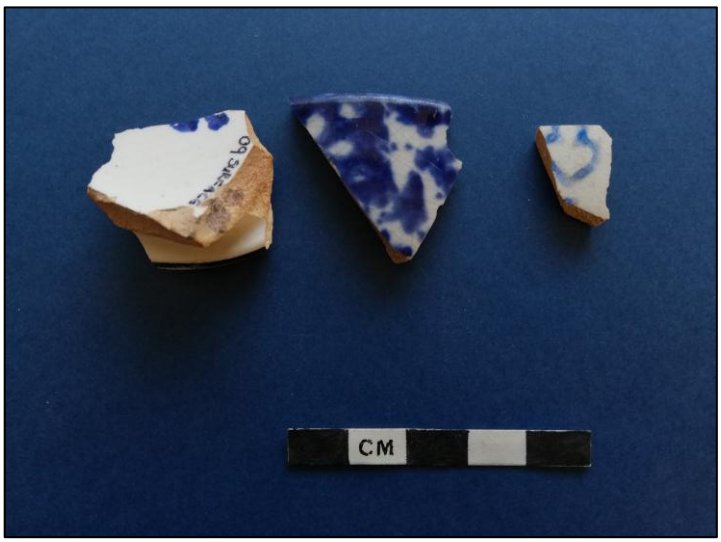

Figure 6. 15. Sponge ware ceramics from Gorras IV.

STRATIGRAPHIC CHANGES IN THE CERAMIC DISTRIBUTION

In order to assess whether there are stratigraphic differences in the ceramics I have compared the ceramics from the grey layer combined with the surface sweep. The comparison uses the MNV estimates. Apart from stoneware, the broad ware types, especially the refined earthen ware are similar throughout the sequence (Table 6.6, Figure 6.16). The stoneware and porcelain sample sizes are small and therefore offers no meaningful chronological interpretation (Fig 6.16).

Table 6. 6. Ceramic wares by layer.

	SURFACE SWEEP	% TOTAL SURFACE SWEEP	GREY	% TOTAL GREY
REFINED INDUSTRIAL EARTHEN WARE	8	73	69	62
STONEWARE	0	0	9	8
EUROPEAN PORCELAIN	3	27	33	30
TOTAL	**11**	**100**	**111**	**100**

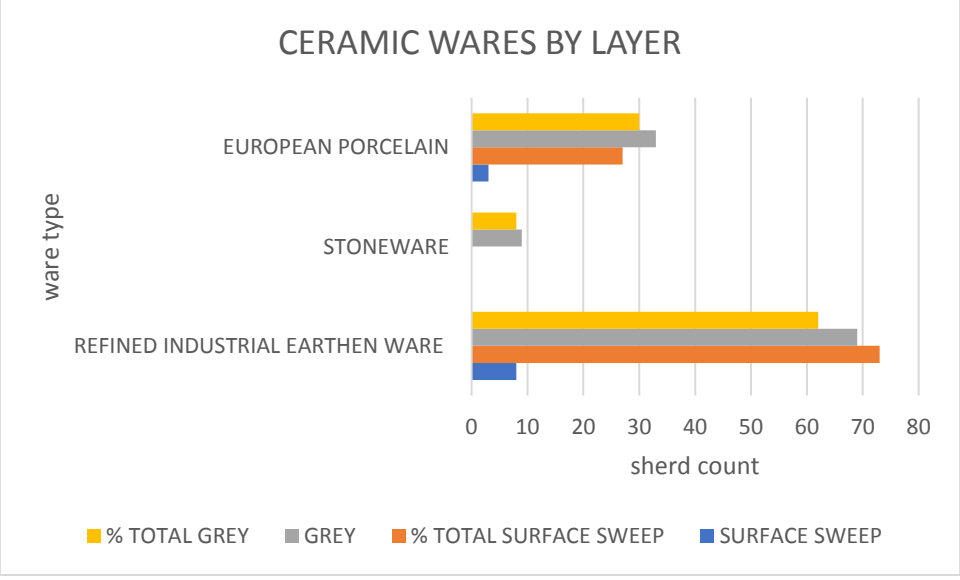

Figure 6. 16. Ceramic ware profiles by stratigraphic layer.

As noted, the European refined industrial ware is the largest category and since the ceramic design types can be chronological indicators, the ceramics designs were further subdivided by layer. Table 6.7 details this analysis and Figure 6.17 gives a visual representation of the stratigraphic frequency of decoration types. The high frequency of ceramics in the grey layer indicates a potentially broad chronological range between the 1840s and the 1950s. This is not very useful but given that Gorras IV must post-date 1862 and was probably only built after 1873, narrows this range. This comparison shows that there is no change through time. Other items of material culture also help narrow this date range.

Table 6. 7. The stratigraphic distribution of refined earthenware by design.

	SURFACE SWEEP	GREY	TOTALS	% SURFACE SWEEP	% GREY	% TOTALS
Transfer Printed	4	29	**33**	12.1	88	100
Painted	2	7	**9**	22.2	78	100
Spongeware	0	3	**3**	0	100	100
Undecorated	1	50	**51**	2	98	100
Liquid glazed Stoneware	0	3	**3**	0	100	100
Salt glazed stoneware	0	3	**3**	0	100	100

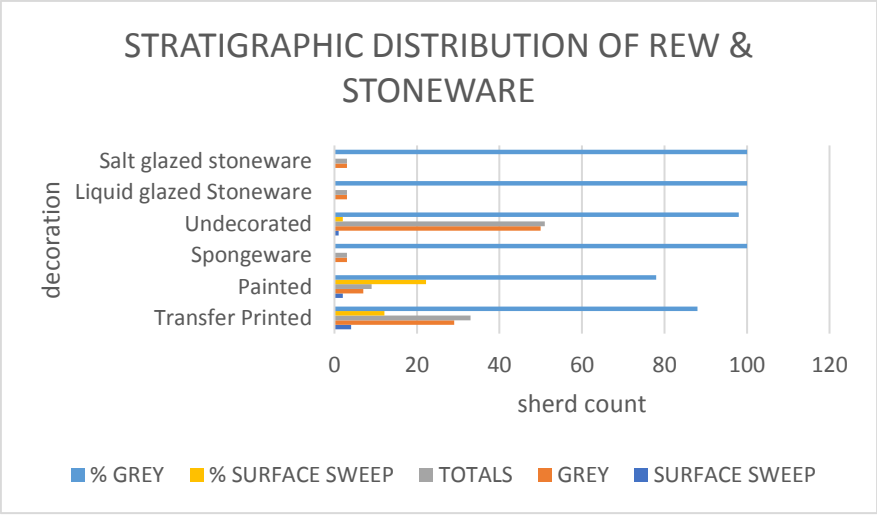

Figure 6. 17 The stratigraphic distribution of refined earthenware by design.

The next section evaluates the form and function of the ceramics (storage, foodways etc).

GORRAS IV FORM AND FUNCTION

The form and function table utilised by Klose and Malan (2000), has been adapted for all the Gorras assemblages (Table 6.8). Establishing form and function is based on diagnostic pieces, such as rims and foot-rings. Forms have been described as either hollow-ware (cups, bowls) and flat-ware (plates). Plates and dishes generally have thicker rims than saucers or small plates (Zachariou 2017). Additionally, form was assigned if the vessel had tight curvature which would indicate bowls or cups and other markers such as spouts, handles and handle size. Thick handles, sometimes with moulding, are often seen on serving dishes, while the delicate narrower handles are often found on teacups. Table 6.8 and Figure 6.18 provide the details of the form and function. What is evident from the Gorras IV ceramic assemblage is that the focus is on refined earthenware plates and small bowls.

At Gorras IV, the transfer printed vessels are almost all flat ware vessels. Additionally, some of the line decorated ceramics are flatware vessels. These are large plates (220-250mm diameter) and no small plates were identified. Additionally, the large plates are clearly not matched because of the variety in transfer print colours and design. The large plates are an eclectic mixed collection with no decorative coherence. The variability of the transfer printed plates only signifies a ‘set’, insofar as there are several of them, and is an informal collection of unmatched pieces. This will be discussed below.

The assemblage also had an MNV of one teacup and four saucers. While these are all whiteware, again, no matched tea service can be implied. Additionally, there are no serving dishes or ceramic tableware that would be expected if there were matched sets. Also, there are no small side plates at all, a functional category that would be expected if the discarded ceramics came from matched sets.

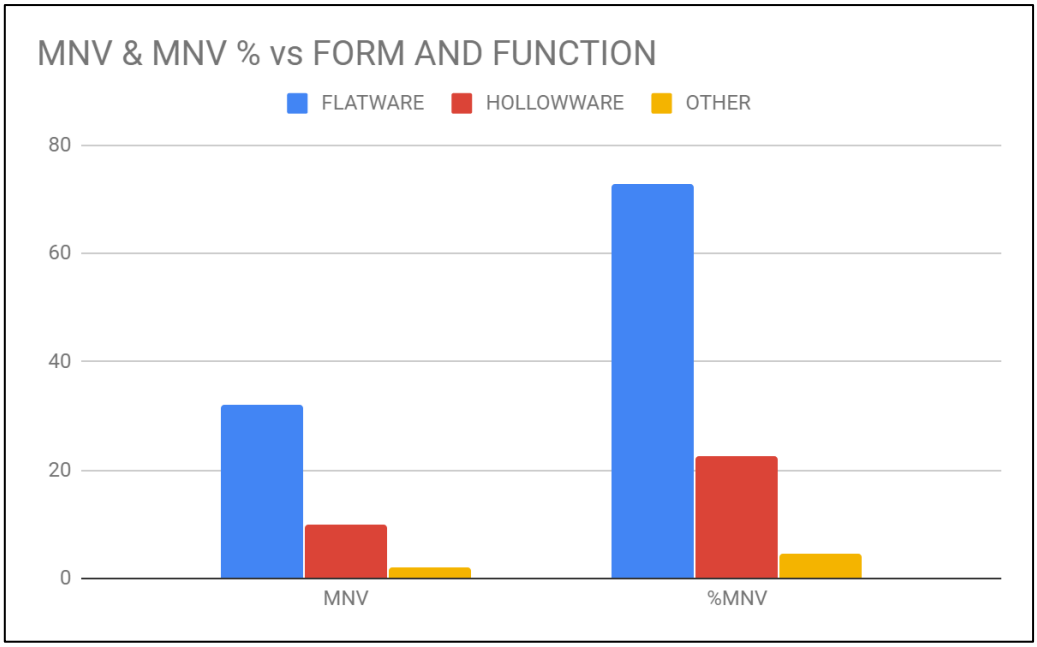

Figure 6. 18. Flatware versus hollowware

Table 6. 8. Form and function Gorras IV (MNV).

FORM & POSSIBLE FUNCTION	EUROPEAN PORCELAIN	REFINED INDUSTRIAL EARTHENWARE	STONEWARE	MNV TOTAL	MNV %
FOOD& DRINK STORAGE				**6**	**13**
BOTTLE			6		
FOOD SERVING & CONSUMPTION				**31**	**70.5**
PLATE 220-250MM		28			
BOWL SMALL		3			
DRINKING				**5**	**11.4**
CUP	1				
SAUCER	4				
ORNAMENTAL				**1**	**2.5**
VASE/FLOWERPOT					
OTHER (doll)	1				
UTILITARIAN				**1**	**2.5**
TOTALS	**6**	**31**	**6**	**43**	**100**

(adapted from Klose and Malan 2000)

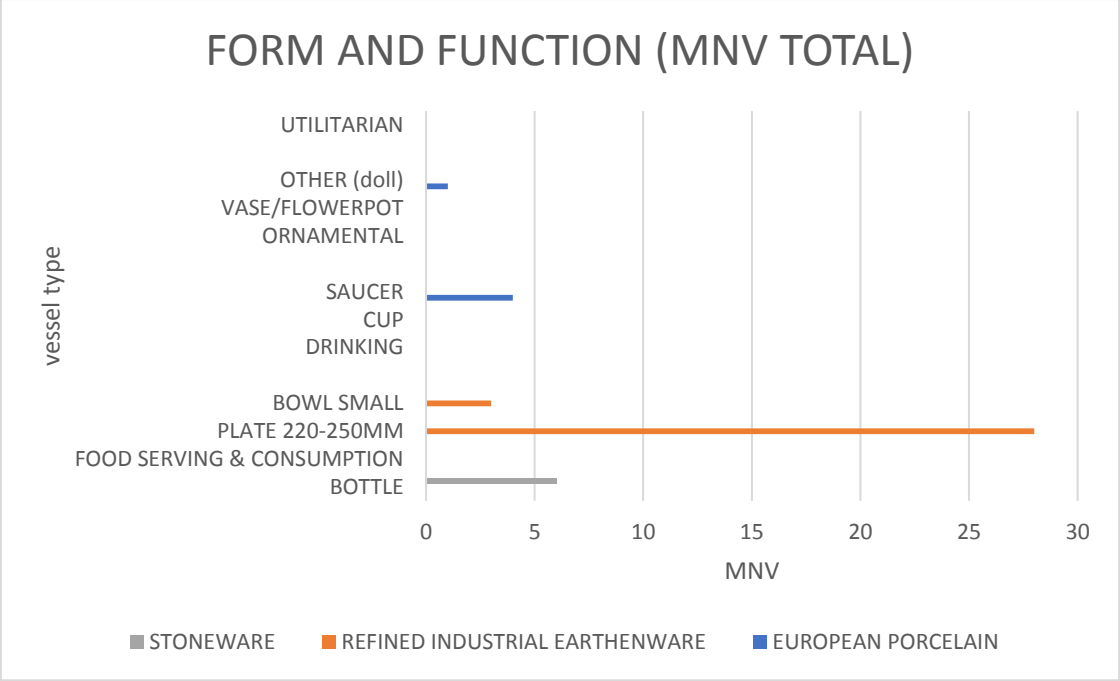

Figure 6. 19. Gorras IV form and function by MNV

Table 6. 9. Flatware versus hollowware

FORM AND FUNCTION	FLATWARE	HOLLOWWARE	OTHER	TOTALS
MNV	32	4	8	44
%MNV	72.7	9.1	18.2	100

The MNV flatware vessel count is higher than the hollow ware vessel count. This is surprising given the significant percentage of bowls found elsewhere in rural farm settings (see Zachariou 2017).

The assemblage also contained ginger beer bottles, but the original use might have differed from the uses employed in the household. These bottles could have been used for storage. The 6 vessels represented in this assemblage are salt glazed stoneware and liquid glazed (Fig 6.4; Fig 6.19). One of the salt-glazed vessels is an ink bottle, the other two salt glazed vessels are ginger beer bottles. There are no makers marks on these ginger beer bottles and their origin was not established. Lastovica (2000), notes that the ginger beer industry was well

established in the Cape by 1903. There were a variety of recipe types used, however, the brewed variety was preferred due to its long shelf life versus the aerated variety. The beverages were advertised as 'Old Fashioned Ginger Beer', 'Home Brewed Ginger Beer'. The Gorras IV stoneware bottles have crown tops that indicates a date in the late 19th century and early 20th century. There are no makers marks on any of the bottle sherds, and despite the Cape's industry, bottles without makers marks could also be of British origin (Lastovica 2000).

This next section will give an analysis of the glass, fauna and metal found at Gorras IV. Function aside, this material also helps refine the chronology.

GLASS ANALYSIS

Both the diagnostic and adiagnostic glass was grouped by colour and a total sherd and MNV count was established. MNV counts were based on diagnostic features, these features were the necks, shoulders, lips and bases. A total of 24 diagnostic glass fragments were identified and grouped by colour (Table 6.10, Fig 6.20). The most dominant glass colour was the clear glass, which made up 50% of the MNV. The second most occurring was blue glass (8%), followed by white/ purple glass and brown glass which each made up 4% of the MNV (Table 6.10, Fig 6.20). The diagnostic features and glass colour were then used to identify the form and function.

Table 6. 10. Minimum number of glass artefacts based on colour from Gorras IV.

COLOUR	TOTAL GLASS	% TOTAL GLASS	MNV	%MNV
Clear	13	50	12	50
Blue	2	8	2	8
Dark Green	6	23	5	21
Light Green	3	12	3	13
Purple	1	4	1	4
Brown	1	4	1	4
TOTALS	26	100	24	100

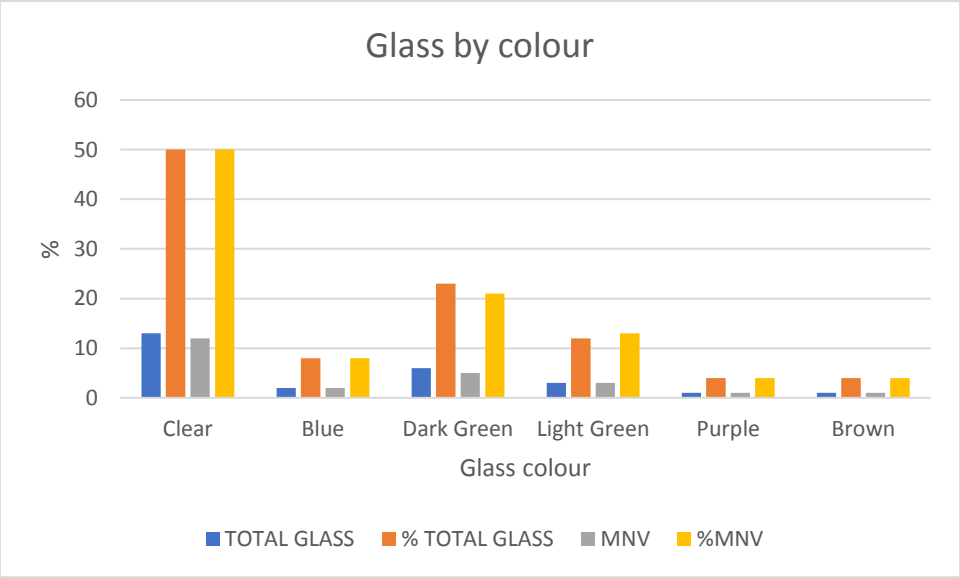

Figure 6. 20. The percentage of glass pieces and MNV by colour.

The Gorras IV glass assemblage dates to the mid to-late 19th century as the assemblage does not have any blown glass, which was the earlier technology. The early techniques for glass manufacture utilised hand blowing and the most common characteristic of blown glass was its asymmetry (Jones et.al 1985; see also Aultman et.al 2003). Moulds were also used in the manufacturing process, this is where hot glass would be forced into the outer extremities of the inside of the mould, either by air pressure or by the pressure exerted by a plunger (Jones et.al 1985:23). The styles at Gorras IV are all symmetrical and thus have a later 19th century date. Symmetry in glass, however, gives a broad date range and consequently, the stylistic features of the glass become important chronological markers that refine the Gorras IV chronology. Gorras IV has a diversity of colours represented in this sample, these are: blue,

dark green, light green, clear, black, purple, brown, milky-white and red. The colour types have been useful in determining the form and function of some of the glass which is described below.

FORM AND FUNCTION

The glass was organized by form and function; as beverage containers, as apothecary or toiletry containers, and with a separate category for adiagnostic (unidentified) glass. Most of the glass can be identified with toiletry or apothecary use, the majority of the blue and clear glass falls into this category (Table 6.11, Fig 6.21). The green and brown glass is associated with alcoholic beverages.

Table 6. 11. Possible form and function of glass associated with Gorras IV.

FORM AND FUNCTION	BEVERAGE CONTAINERS	TOILETRY OR APOTHECARY	UNIDENTIFIED	TOTAL MNV
MNV	10	12	2	24
%MNV	**41.7**	**50**	**8.3**	**100**

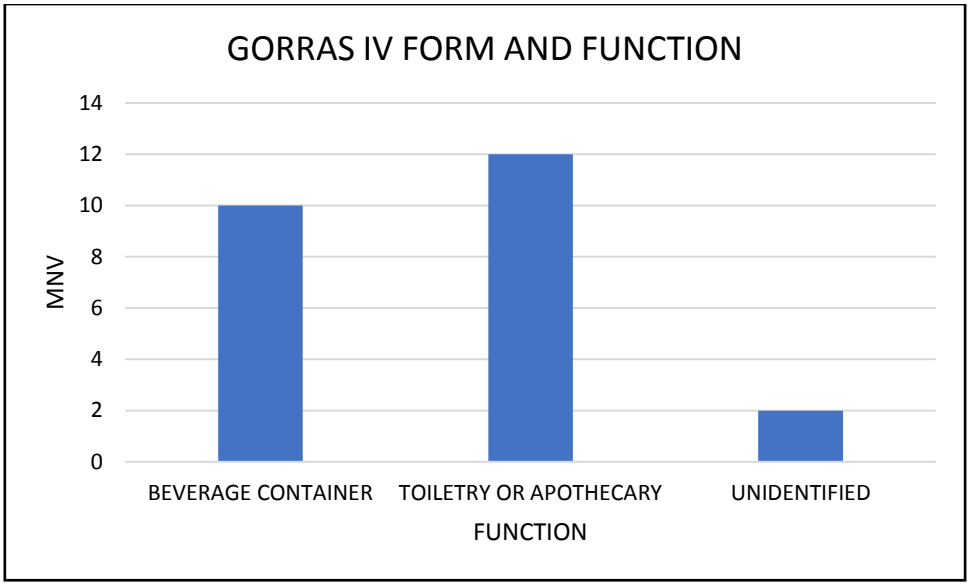

Figure 6. 21. Distribution of glass function types from Gorras IV.

MEDICINAL AND TOILETRY BOTTLES

The medicinal and toiletry bottles are mostly blue or clear in colour and have the patent lips (Fig 6.22; 6.23), which were popular through the 19th and 20th century (Miller & Sullivan 1984; Jones et al 1985; Lastovica& Lastovica 1990; Lastovica 2000). The blue vessels associated with this category largely have delicate bodies.

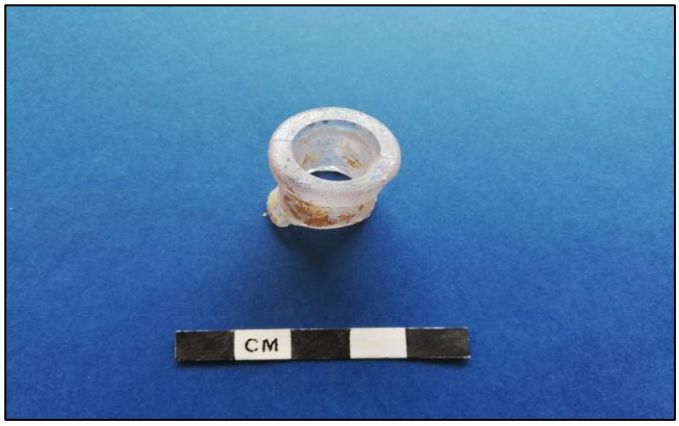

Figure 6. 22. Patent lip on clear glass.

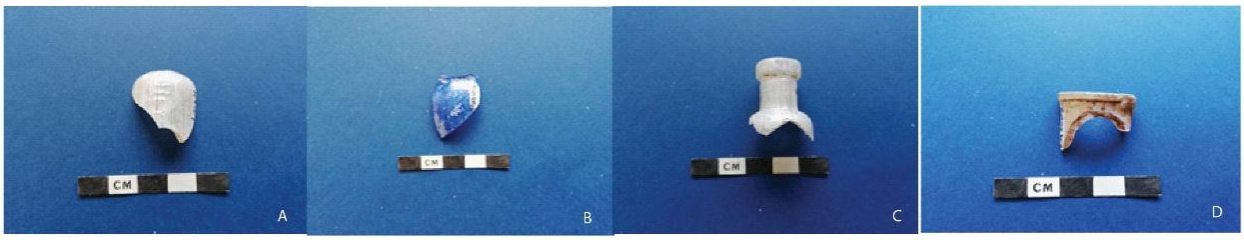

Figure 6. 23. Delicate glass from Gorras IV

The patent lip bottle (Fig 6.22) has a two-piece mould which was machine made. Miller & Sullivan (1984) found that there was a sharp decline in the manufacture of blown glass from the 1890s up until the 1920s (Miller & Sullivan 1984:166). The machine-made glass from Gorras IV is therefore late 19th century early 20th century in date because mechanical production in England started in, 1887, and "a semi-automatic jar machine was in production

in the early 1890s" (Miller & Sullivan 1984:168). The Gorras IV machine made glass dates from this period.

The Vaseline jar with the "Chesebrough/Manuf'g.Co. Cd/New - York" partial makers mark (Fig 6.24) is clear glass. The general style of the bottle was called a 'pomade jar' in early glass bottle makers' catalogues (https://www.glassbottlemarks.com/chesebrough-manufg-co-vaseline-jars/). The makers mark is embossed, and variations are found in early versions of this jar type. Vaseline was formally patented in 1872 by Robert Augustus Chesebrough under the Chesebrough Manufacturing Company, which was based in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. It has been noted that Chesebrough may have been producing this product before it was patented under the name Vaseline (https://www.glassbottlemarks.com/chesebrough-manufg-co-vaseline-jars/). However, the bottle represented in this sample is of a later date possibly the early to mid-20th century.

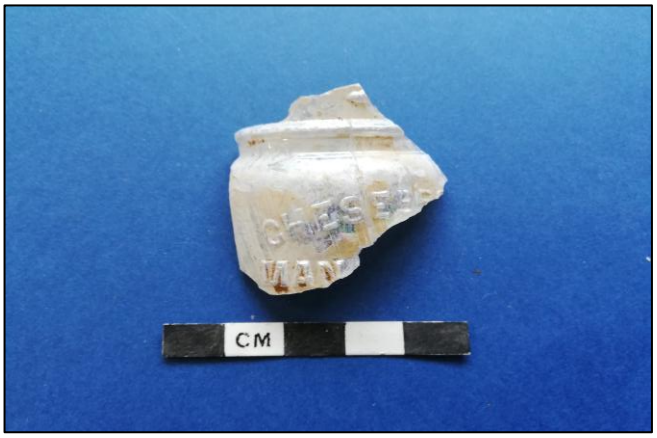

Figure 6. 24. Vaseline Chesebrough Manufacturing.

The diagnostic features of most of the apothecary or pharmaceutical bottles vary in shape and colour, and, the majority point to a late 19th century and early 20th century date.

BEVERAGE CONTAINERS

The food or beverage container category contribute 41.7% of the total MNV of diagnostic vessels of which the green and the brown glass fall within this category. I will first discuss vessels with identifiable makers marks.

GREEN AND BROWN GLASS

Dark green and brown or amber shades were first made for alcoholic beverages. The dark green bottles have been moulded using a 'ghost' seam (Jones et.al 1985). The characteristics of this mould are the, "horizontal mould seam encircling the neck-finish junction...a ghost seam is certain proof of machine production" (Jones et.al 1985:37). As noted above the broad date for the machine manufacture of these vessels is from the late 1880s and some of the glass was made in South Africa (Jones et. al 1985; Lorrain 1968; https://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/4/The-South-African-Breweries-Limited.html).

These bottles could have been re-used, either for rebottling other beverages or other food stuff. Consequently, their presence may be later than their primary use. Pickling of food with vinegars, was a common occurrence in the 19th century, and pickling buchu vinegar from the Cederberg is an example (1/SMT LEER: 26/14/20; see also 3/KWT, 4/1/207: S21/43).

IDENTIFIABLE MAKERS MARKS

There is a small body shard with the iconic Coca-Cola 'C' printed on the glass (Fig 6.25). The printed Coca-Cola trademark has a 1950s date, unlike the much older embossed versions. This is one of the latest dates we have for the assemblage, and indicates that material was finding its way onto Gorras IV deep into the 20th century

Figure 6. 25. Coca-Cola makers mark.

METAL ANALYSIS

Metal was recovered from the excavation and the surface around the midden. The metal fragments from Gorras IV were counted per layer and the frequency of the totals was calculated (Table 6.12 and Fig 6.26). As with the ceramics, the red layer was sterile, and the bulk of the material is in the lower grey layer.

Table 6. 12. Metal raw counts from Gorras IV

LAYERS	TOTAL COUNTS	% FREQUENCY OF TOTAL COUNTS
Surface sweep	137	16.4
Grey	696	83.6
TOTAL	**833**	**100**

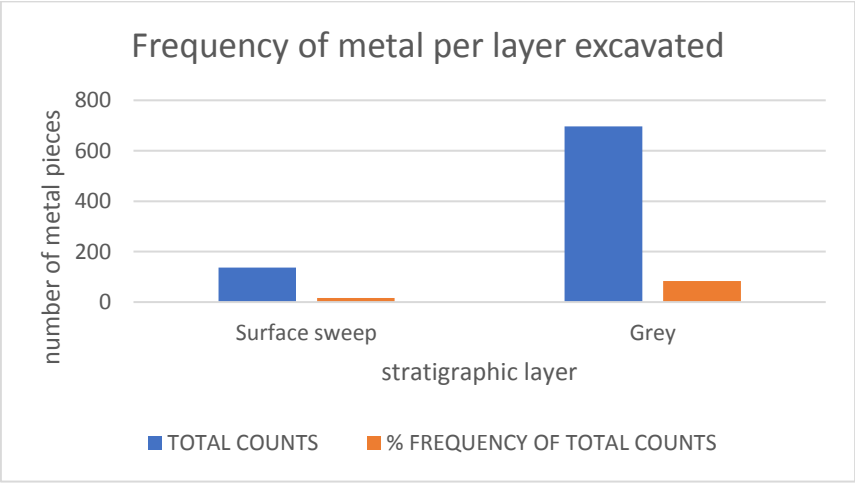

Figure 6. 26. Frequency of metal per excavated layer.

In so far as it was possible, the metal was grouped by diagnostic features which also indicates the form and function. The high frequency of metal in the lower grey layer, repeats the frequency of ceramic and glass. A total of thirty-eight diagnostic pieces are in the Gorras IV assemblage (Table 6.13; see also Appendix D).

Table 6. 13.Gorras IV diagnostic metal

TYPE	DESCRIPTION	METAL PIECE NUMBER
Costume Jewellery	2 rings with clasps, stone or jewel is missing	2
Wire (iron)	Misc. types, gauge measured	2
Wire (alloy)	Twisted	1
Nails (wrought iron)	Variety of shapes and sizes	9
Nails (alloy)	standard	2
Alloy	Alloy tube	1
Iron	Iron tube	1
Household Use	Cap for cleaning fluid	1
Miscellaneous Iron Pieces	Misc. iron pieces	6
Recycled Tin		1
Recycled Alloy		1
Tin Sheets	Misc. tin sheets	10
Spring (Carriage)	Thick laminate spring	1
TOTAL		**38**

Some of the rusted nails may be hand forged nails, however, it is difficult to be certain due to the corrosion of the metal (Figs 6.27, 6.28a, 6.28b). The midden also produced some alloy nails in the assemblage (Fig 629) which can be dated to as early as the 1870s (Wells 1998). Hand forged nails were made through the 1790s and early 1800s, but from the mid-1800s, there was a high occurrence of machine-made nails, and by the 1890s, most nails were machine made. While hand forging and wrought technique however persisted through the 19th century (Wells 1998; Nelson 1968), it is likely that the Gorras IV nails were machine made.

Figure 6. 27. Range of nails from Gorras IV

Figure 6. 28. Hand forged nails Gorras IV

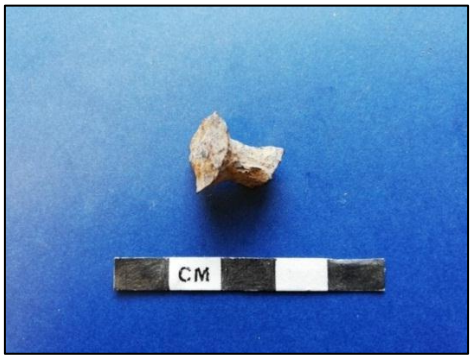

Figure 6. 29. Hand forged horse bridle screw?

The midden also yielded alloy washers (Fig 6.30), identifiable by the absence of corrosion and the distinct green discolouration. Again, their presence is not surprising because throughout the 19th century there was a move towards the uniformity in the "threading of nuts and bolts" (Graves 1984). Washers along with fasteners were industrialised in the late 1860s. The low frequency of fasteners indicates that they were used incidentally around Gorras IV.

Figure 6. 30. Alloy washer or fastener

The nature of the excavated metal assemblage is perhaps best characterised by the variety of cut metal sheets from the midden (Fig 6.31). This category comprises alloy metal, probably from larger metal containers, such as can and tins of various sizes. The issue is that the folding, crimping and in some instances, the evidence for tacking, indicates that this metal, for whatever purpose, is recycled. Whatever the use, this metal was repurposed expediently and indicates that perhaps some of the tin and cans on the surface around Gorras IV were scavenged from elsewhere perhaps the main Gorras werf. The shapes are mostly square or rectangular and are highly variable in their dimensions.

Figure 6. 31. Cut and folded metal sheet.

One striking find from within the boulders is the base of what has been identified as a combined stove burner (Fig 6.32a and b). It has a distinct green discoloration and is clearly made from an alloy that included copper. As noted, this is probably one part of the larger combined stove that would have included a pot and a mess tin (Fig 6.32b). It is perhaps a leap to link this find to the British fort (sangar) dating to the South African war on the hill to the south of Gorras IV (probably built from 1900). If correct, its presence in the midden has obvious chronological implications. Additionally, does its presence at Gorras IV hint at British use of the structure or, as with the recycled metal sheet described above? It underlines that much of the metal at Gorras IV was probably scavenged for expedient use.

Figure 6. 32a Combination stove base from Gorras IV.

Figure 6. 32b..Combined Stove Example (National Army Museum London: NAM. 1980-11-105-1).

This issue is pursued in the following section.

SURFACE COLLECTED MATERIAL FROM AROUND GORRAS IV

The surface scatter of metal around Gorras IV has a high concentration of tin cans and corrugated iron sheets and fragments. The tin cans have perforations along their bodies. The tins cans could either, be military issue and were either scavenged from the fort or alternatively, they could be from the Gorras I werf, and re-used. One of the tins noted from the surface scatter around the sangar (Fig 6.33), has a fleur du ly decoration on the lid, which is a typical British military decoration and is on the British coat of arms (https://www.tameside.gov.uk/MuseumsandGalleries/Museum-of-the-Manchester-Regiment-Object-focus-Fle). The provenance for the Gorras IV tins and cans is uncertain because of the lack of particular features and uses other than generic storage, makes any certain conclusions regarding this difficult.

As noted in Chapter Five, these forts were sometimes constructed using corrugated iron sheets, therefore, the presence of pieces of corrugated iron at Gorras IV could date them from late 1899. However, corrugated iron dates from the late 1880s in the Cape, and it was produced much earlier in Britain as an industrial building material (National Army Museum London; NAM.1997-09-75-1).

Figure 6. 33. **Tin top with a fleur du ly.**

The question regarding the tin cans and corrugated iron sheets is where do they fit in with the overall chronology? The building extensions to Gorras I and the late construction of the Victorian house, could have all had corrugated iron roofs especially the Victorian house and can also date to this building period before the South African war.

BULLET CASINGS

Possibly related to the issue above, is that bullet casings were also recovered from Gorras IV. These are associated with the domestic use weaponry, the most common casing being the Martini Henry 450 and the Martini Henry 303 which was a modified sawed version of the 450 (1873-1920). The midden also had Lee Metfords and Lee Enfield's which were largely used by the Boer forces and their dates range between 1888 and 1926 (Table 6.14). The Metford was one of the first modern bolt action magazine rifles which were in use at the beginning of the South African war, however with the advent of smokeless powder, the

Metford barrels could not stand up to the pressure, they were soon replaced by the Lee Enfield.

Table 6. 14. Bullet Casings from Gorras IV

Lee metford	1888 - 1926
Lee Enfield	1895-1940s +
Martini Henri (303)	1900+
Martini Henry 450	1873 - 1900

In keeping with the character of metal use at Gorras IV, it seems that some of the bullet casings were also crimped, cut and folded, and one possibly modified for use in a pistol or revolver (Fig 6.34). One of the 303 cartridges had been cut (Fig 6.35), and these features possibly indicate the reprocessing and recycling of bullet casings. Some of these casings likely date from the Anglo-Boer, although they may also originate within the normal use of guns in this rural Karoo context. The evidence suggests that the later 19th century occupants of Gorras IV were not themselves in possession of guns but scavenged, recycled and reworked for other purposes.

From the surface sweeps, a British military button was recovered. The design was used up until the Second World War. This type of button was commonly used by the general service corps (Fig. 6.36) (https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/30102983). A second a general service button was also recovered from the surface sweepings. Additionally, an American military officer buttons (Figs 6.37) was also recovered from the excavation. It is well known that Americans served in the South African, both on the Boer and British sides (Brown 2012). Despite their continuity into the 20th century, the presence of these buttons is best seen as coming from the South African war fort, either within the period of the war, or picked up subsequently. Whatever the case, their presence within the Gorras IV context,

along with the other evidence which suggests the recycling of metal, suggest that these buttons were also picked up from the military context, and do not imply that the British military were using Gorras IV.

Figure 6. 34. Gorras IV Martini Henry 303

Figure 6. 35. Revolver bullet casing.

Figure 6. 36. British officer button.

Figure 6. 37. American Officer button

PLASTIC

Gorras IV has a few plastic pieces associated within the midden. There were rounded plastic flat discs which very likely were from a material called bakelite manufactured from early in the 20th century. The most notable pieces being the two eye and four eye buttons as well as some plastic comb teeth varying in colour, the most striking colours being the black and red. There were some pieces of plastic in the surface pick that could be categorized as toys, the most striking piece being a rounded and embossed red piece of plastic associated with the surface scatter that could have been used as a gaming piece due to the rounding on its edges.

FAUNA

The fauna was grouped by stratigraphic layer and weighed (Table 6.15). The faunal remains in the excavation were from Bovid type II and given the context detailed in Chapters Three and Four, the fauna is all probably sheep. The bone was categorized into diagnostic and nondiagnostic. The diagnostic pieces mostly consisted of ribs, long bones consisting of humeri, radial-ulnar and the vertebrae. There were some fragments of hind leg bones however, in comparison to the other skeletal remains found, they were the least represented. The sheep bone in the assemblage was to a large extend represented by low quality cuts. In the surface sweeps layer, there was evidence of partial burnt bone however, most of the bone was unburnt.

Table 6. 15. Distribution of fauna in relation to excavated layers.

	SURFACE SWEEPS (g)	GREY (g)
Diagnostic	169.45	2050,71
Non-diagnostic	167.62	782,88

The highest concentration of bone (including the burnt bone fragments) found in these layers were in the lower grey layer. When viewed in grams, the actual proportion of sheep very likely represents either a short occupation or a low meat consumption diet. As with the ceramic and glass, there appears to be no significant change through time in the stratigraphy.

DISCUSSION

This chapter described the excavated material from Gorras IV. I now make a preliminary assessment of the material in relation to the suggestion that Gorras IV was a dwelling for workers, either relatively permanent on the farm or itinerant workers, such as sheep shearers. These ideas stem from the comparison with the larger structures of Gorras I and Gorras III, and the assumption that the capacity of these households to expand and grow after the initial

lease of the farm by the Jankowitz's is reflected in the architectural additions to the original corbelled structure.

Furthermore, on the basis of the documents, it is suggested that Gorras IV functioned as a dwelling only after JC Jankowitz left the farm after 1873. Additionally, Gorras IV was architecturally 'embedded' within an enclosure wall. This also hints that the occupants of the structure, initially at least, were linked to the management of either ostrich for the feather industry, or merino sheep. The assumption stemming from these inferences is that, if correct, the capacity of the occupants of Gorras IV to purchase would have been limited, compared to the Gorras I and Gorras III households. Consequently, the assessment focuses on chronology, the relative cost implications of the material culture and a preliminary statement about the nature of the Gorras IV household or serial households.

The chronological indicators from the Gorras IV excavated material give an extended chronological timeline between the early to mid-19th century, up until the mid to later 20th century (Tables 6.16, 6.17 and 6.18).

Clearly, the documents infer that an earlier 19th century date is not possible. However, the chronological indicators from the later 19th century are still not particularly useful but would support the suggestion that Gorras IV was only built after 1873. While the suggestion is that most indicators point to the later 19th century, the physical extent and depth of the midden does not imply that much time. The location of the midden is immediately downslope of the east facing doorway (Fig 5.32) and it appears that all dumping of ash and debris throughout the use of Gorras IV was in this direction. There is no evidence of any discard in the vicinity of the north west facing doorway, upslope of the structure. Even when this doorway was in use, dumping was forward downslope towards the drainage.

Given the proximity of the midden close to the structure implies that the ash and debris were either generated from activity within the structure or from an external kitchen area close by, but there are no obvious indications for this. There is, however, a feature to the right of the structures entrance just below the scarp edge above the drainage (Fig 5.22). The remains of what could have been a hearth in a nook in the scarp edge could indicate an outside kitchen (cook skerm). If so, it is possible that ash and debris could have been deposited on the midden, but fragments of bone and ceramic downslope of this nook, indicates that if it was for cooking, ash and debris could have been cleaned out into the drainage, and that it has washed away. The Gorras IV midden, therefore, may be a partial reflection of domestic activity at this household.

On the issue of purchasing power as reflected in the Gorras IV ceramics, I consider costs, availability, and trends in taste and marketing through the late 19th century and into the 20th century. The ceramic profile of Gorras IV is quite limited in its diversity and range. The most prevalent category in the assemblage is undecorated industrial refined earthenware sherds followed by transfer printed refined earthenware. This pattern reflects pricing and demand trends in the global market in the second half of the 19th century (Miller 1980). There was a growing preference for the plain ironstone ware which was marketed as being more hygienic (Moffett 2010). It is interesting to note that patterns such as the shell-edged refined earthenware plates which were more expensive and popular in the late 18th and early 19th century, fast become likened to the cheap 'CC' ware that Miller (1980) refers to. The demand for these shell edge plates simply does not exist and it has been noted that "archaeological assemblages and ceramic bills after the 1860s rarely contain shell edge plates" (*ibid:10).* The demand that is driving market forces is driven by the need for these undecorated industrial refined earthenware vessels, a comparison with other assemblages in the region will be completed in chapter ten to test this.

While the Gorras IV assemblage is referencing these global trends, one of the questions to ask regarding this, is whether this was by choice or circumstance especially in the case of the hygienic components of a vessel. This is particularly relevant when we consider the status of the occupants discussed in Chapter Five and here, in light of the discussion around the high variability of transfer printed types that could not be linked to a matching set. A further question regarding this is whether the occupants were purchasing ceramics for themselves or if the ceramics from the Gorras IV midden are reflective of the landowners from the Gorras I werf? Appendix F which details the surface pick-up from Gorras I would indicate that given the diversity and range of ceramic types from Gorras I, that the occupants of Gorras IV were most likely inheriting some of these ceramics from the main werf. The limited distribution of ceramics could be a signifier of social status, and the bulk of the ceramics found in this midden could have been inherited from the occupants of the Victorian household. The eclectic mix and limited colour distribution perhaps reflect the inability to purchase and the possibility that the occupants were receiving their ceramics from Gorras I.

Table 6. 16. Ceramic Chronology

CHRONOLOGICAL MARKER	**DATE**
SALTE GLAZED STONE WARE	1810-1900+
RED, BLACK AND GREEN TRANSFER PRINT	1830S-1900+
IRON STONE	1850s-1900s/Present
ROYAL BOCH	1880s
WOODS IVORY	1930s

Table 6. 17. Glass Chronology

CHRONOLOGICAL MARKER	DATE
PATENT LIP	1860- 1900s
PURPLE BOTTLES	1880-1925
DARK OLIVE GREEN GLASS	1700s-1860s
EMBOSSED GLASS	1869- 1900S
BULGED BASE (push-up/kick up)	1740- 1820s
CHAMFERED HEEL	1850S-1900S
CHESEBROUGH/MANUF'G.CO.CD/NEW – YORK (Vaseline jar)	1938-1945
COCA COLA	1950-
GREEN AND BROWN GLASS (South African Breweries)	1870s

Table 6. 18. Metal Chronology

CHRONOLOGICAL MARKER	DATE
HAND WROUGHT IRON NAILS	1790s-1850s
KEROSENE LAMP BASE	1880s
WASHERS	1800s
CORRUGATED IRON	1836 - present
LEE METFORD	1888 - 1926
LEE ENFIELD	1895-1940s +

The ceramic assemblage had no evidence for matching sets, and to a large extent the ceramics were an eclectic mix, this is especially the case for the transfer printed ceramics. These transfer printed vessels have a diverse array of colours, and the presence of blue willow pattern underpins its continuing popularity into the later 19th century. The absence of any evidence for matched sets is not surprising, given that there is no evidence that there was any capacity to use, store or display matched sets. While a number of plates indicates that each member of the household may have used one individually, the wider social implications of possessing matched sets are not evident. Additionally, because of technological innovation, the diverse colour palette of the transfer printed ceramics is a distinct signifier of a much later

19th century occupation. This is particularly so for the presence of red, black and green transfer printed ceramics (Samford 1997).

The ceramic sample also needs to be assessed on the basis of what it does not include, and this applies in particular to annular slip ware bowls. It is important to note here that the surface pick up Gorras I (Appendix F) yielded a number of slipware bowl sherds, in contrast to the Gorras IV midden, which had none. This disparity may be chronological, and that these wares found behind the Gorras I structure, may relate to the pre-1873 occupation. Alternatively, as discussed above, if ash and debris were disposed from the suggested cook skerm directly into the drainage, then this may also have affected the ceramic sample.

In light of these shifts in style and taste, Miller (1980) is critical of ranking assemblages and sites relative to one another in terms of purchase pattern, the presence of matched sets and more expensive forms such as tureens (serving bowls), and decorative types. Since this varies through time and as a consequence of demand (Miller 1980:10). Miller (1991) highlights that the pricing index values were far from stable and fluctuated over time. In the case where there are no matching sets, we can infer that the consumers in the Karoo are not necessarily driving the demand and instead are receiving ceramics that reflect European tastes and this is particularly the case give the status of Gorras IV.

The relatively high profile of plates and the absence of bowls in the Gorras IV ceramic assemblage raises the question of how this might relate to the nature of meals, recipes and the appropriate vessels to serve these meals. As noted, aside from the possible cook skerm, there is little to indicate the organisation of cooking, and it is reasonable to assume that it was on open fires outside the corbelled structure. Additionally, there is no evidence for artefacts in the form of caste iron three legged pots, appropriate for open fire cooking, or indeed any evidence of kitchenware that provides perspectives on meal preparation.

The seeming absence of small bowls is striking in this regard, because one expectation might be that these vessels would be appropriate for soups and stews. While it is an assumption that this meal type would be the norm for rural Karoo farm labour, there is nothing in the ceramics that supports this. The plates might indicate the opposite, and this again raises the question of the process through which they came to be at Gorras IV, and in relation to foodways, how they might have been used, other than for food. The issue of material absence might also indicate that Gorras IV was used to accommodate itinerant labour, for example, in the form of seasonal sheep shearers, who in their seasonal movement, basically took their domestic material with them (see De Jongh 2012). Additionally, in relation to foodways, the limited presence of stoneware is interesting given the need to preserve foods. There are very few of these vessels represented in the ceramic profile, and also other types that may be used for storage. The bone, predominantly of sheep size, from the midden indicates that it was cooked soon after slaughter.

The presence of glass and metal in the assemblage again raises the issue as to whether this reflects primary purchase and use or whether that materials and artefacts were being recycled. The evidence for metal modification of tin sheet, tin cans and bullet casings is a consistent attribute of the metal. In America the preservation of food in tin cans dates from the 1840s (Rock 1984), and consequently, tinned food would have been available after 1873, and in particular, might have been critical for rations during the South African war. The National Army Museum in London mentions the Bovril Ltd London company whose tins were used for the Emergency rations during the South African war (see Fig 6.38, NAM. 1997-08-75-1).

Figure 6.38. Emergency ration South African War (National Army Museum London: NAM. 1997-08-75-1).

Tin cans are perforated, in some instances to become containers, and tin cans have been opened out and tin sheet has been re-folded and crimped for other unknown purposes. Additionally, some of the bullet casings have also been modified, flattened and also folded and crimped. The issue is that the character of the metal assemblage unquestionably indicates the relative value of the metal through its recycling and reuse. Whether this indicates that the occupants of Gorras IV purchased tin food, for example, and then re-purposed the metal, or whether they 'scavenged' the metal from elsewhere, such as the main werf farmyard or the South African war fort, is not clear. The presence of corrugated iron at Gorras IV adds to this discussion, given that roofing for both the fort, the additions to Gorras I and the Victorian house were all probably made from corrugated iron. Corrugated iron was not obviously integral to the construction of Gorras IV and its presence there was for other purposes, possibly for example, as windbreaks around a cooking skerm. The presence of a few nails also indicates expedient use.

The emphasis in the character of the metal assemblage from Gorras IV suggests significant reuse and recycling. It is not certain whether this reflects the relative value of the metal in the Gorras IV context, in that the occupants were not in a position to purchase tinned food and corrugated iron, and consequently, their discard elsewhere on the farm was a resource they exploited. Neither does the presence of bullet casings mean that the occupants owned guns and used them.

The issue of re-use visible from the archaeology of this site may point us to important issues concerning the economic capacity of the inhabitants, along the lines suggested at the start, that the occupants were farm labourers or itinerant seasonal workers. The South African war military buttons may of course indicate the use of Gorras IV by British soldiers, but this is doubtful. Just as the main farmyard developing around Gorras I after 1873, could have become a resource for economically marginalised farm labourers, the same may have been the case concerning the material waste from the South African war sangar.

The character of the metal assemblage suggests significant recycling, possibly from elsewhere on the farm, and was not the secondary use of commodities that Gorras IV households purchased independently. This discussion also turns attention back on the nature of the ceramic assemblage and what it may represent in relation to the issue of primary acquisition, on the one hand, or secondary reuse, on the other. As noted above, the ceramic assemblage is eclectic, and this possibly might indicate secondary use of ceramics acquired originally for another context. Additionally, the relative paucity of ceramics might point to the possibility of the site being one of itinerant use, as has been suggested for the total absence of utilitarian kitchen or cooking artefacts. Itinerant, seasonal workers would have taken their domestic belongings away with them. Furthermore, the fact that midden material possibly was dumped into the drainage and washed into the river adds to a taphonomic process to a potentially partial record.

Lastly, the material from Gorras IV suggests that it could have accumulated over a period from after 1873 through to the mid-19th century. If the excavated midden, however, represents the only real sustained occupation of Gorras IV then this chronologically would fit within the pre- and early post 1900 period. In a growing farm business in the early 20th century, a more substantial labour force possibly was housed in the area to the south of the main werf, where farm staff currently reside.

If Gorras IV was used itinerantly, one would not expect to see multiple middens around the corbelled house. Whatever the case, the material culture profile of Gorras IV across the board suggests that the structure was always used by labourers and farm workers at the base of the rural farm economy. The range of ceramics and the lack of annular ware could indicate that the ceramics from this site where hand-me-downs from Gorras I. The suggestion is that the lowly economic means of the inhabitants throughout the use life of Gorras IV implies that the material 'needs' were partially met through the farm owners and the material 'fallout' from the high-density activities around the main werf. The comparison between the material 'complexion' of Gorras IV households and Gorras III (Chapter 7 and Chapter 8) and Gorras I (Appendix F) may provide support for this suggestion for a degree of dependence on farm owners of Gorras I. The stature of both the Gorras I, as the household of landowners, and Gorras III as bywoners, and the architectural additions that underpin the expansion of these households, indicates a capacity to purchase. However, while this may be obvious in the material expression of the Gorras I werf, the economic status of the Gorras III household is unknown. Additionally, the, extreme distance between Gorras III and Gorras I raise the question as to what this express; either a practical dependence on the main werf, or perhaps significant economic independence. In the absence of direct documentary evidence on this issue I now turn to the examination of the excavated material from Gorras III.

CHAPTER SEVEN AND EIGHT

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The next two chapters will discuss the material associated with the two middens excavated from Gorras III. As noted in the earlier discussion in chapter five regarding the architectural sequence, Gorras III is located at a distance of around 9km away from Gorras I. This distance gives the impression of independence from the Gorras I household and the activities of the main werf. The isolation of Gorras III therefore begs the question of the social relationships as well as the economic relationship of the occupiers.

Given the information we know around the biography of the farm discussed in Chapter Five, Gorras III and the built environment around it offer interesting points of discussion around the status of the occupants. One of the striking things about Gorras III is its sheer size, it compares quite well with the size of Gorras I. Moreover, the structure has two additional rooms added to it, the location of the corbel at a distance from Gorras I also signals a degree of independence. This is further supported by the fact that Gorras III has its own kraal system as well as a water access point through a 'putt' or 'gora' about 800 metres away from the corbel structure. There are two middens associated with Gorras III. Midden 2 has part of its assemblage located in rubble which possibly was associated with either the construction of the main road and the reservoir-like structure or the house South East of the corbelled structure. Midden 3 is less than 10 meters away from Midden 2 and its assemblage has not been intermixed with rubble and this could indicate a separation by time.

The archival biography of the farm noted that the farm was originally co-leased by the Jankowitz brothers, JDC and JC Jankowitz. If the choice of the location of Gorras III has anything to do with this familial relationship, it is possible that the distance between Gorras I and Gorras III represented the physical homes of the two brothers. The location could be strategic in terms of providing surveillance over the far reaches of the farm as the location of Gorras III is right on the western boundary. As noted earlier, there is a stylistic relationship that exists between Gorras I and Gorras III thus it is very likely that they were built at the same time as dwelling houses. Therefore, if it is the case that one of the brothers occupied this house, then, the positionality might have been to create social distance between the managing of the different households. The positionality of the corbelled structures therefore could possibly be linked to the relationship between the two brothers. It could also mean that Gorras III functioned as a surveillance point and kept watch over the farms of Blaauwsyfer, Schuinshoogte and the road.

The second scenario is that the structure was built during the Van Wyk period on the farm. Gorras III is commonly referred to as Van Wyks Werf and given that it is not referenced in the 1873 survey diagram (Fig 5.1) it is possible that the structure was only built post 1873. However, we have to also keep in mind that the 1873 survey diagram had some missing information on it regarding additional construction implemented by JC Jankowitz. The two scenarios above give us the opportunity to explore the materiality of Gorras III within a context where the occupiers of the house are hypothesised to have a degree of economic independence and means in comparison to the occupiers of Gorras IV. This will be further discussed in the conclusion of part two of this thesis.

The location of Gorras III is again strategic because it is immediately adjacent to the road that runs from Williston – Carnarvon northwards toward the Langberg (Fig 3.1). The construction of Gorras III and the choice of location references the presence of this road (or in the late

1860s) a track. The extensive kraal system behind Gorras III indicates that it was a significant place for the management of sheep and not simply for grazing in this area of the farm. This indicates that this part of the farm was essential for the purposes of trekking and the movement of sheep along the road and track infrastructure that was or had developed in this region between Williston and Carnarvon as farms were increasingly surveyed and purchased (see also Smuts 2012).

It is clear that Gorras I was built immediately adjacent to the Carnarvon-Williston road and this also potentially references the presence of this road/track, and consequently, this attribute underpins potentially the same locational logic expressed through the position of Gorras III (see also Zachariou 2017 where the farm house moves positions from obscurity to the main road).

If Gorras III was built from the beginning by people who had no ambition in owning Gorras – true bywoners with no ambition or prospects to own Gorras, then the 'isolated' location of Gorras III could speak to this relative status. The presence of the kraals represents that the occupants had their own sheep or permission to be on the land and manage their sheep or the sheep of others. The location of Gorras III might have referenced other components of the local built environment such as the 'putt' or 'gora' located at a short distance from the house but also the rectangular house. The location of Gorras III very likely referenced the proximal relationship to the water or a spring. Gorras III was also possibly referencing boundaries that were yet to be drawn or officially surveyed. As a final comment, when the respective locations of Gorras I and Gorras III are compared, one cannot help but rank them in relation to these 'objective' issues but also the subjective 'feel' of place. Gorras I has continued to be the central werf, the occupational pivot around which the whole farm is based. Water is clearly an issue here, and somewhat subjectively, the 'place' and feel of Gorras I is 'good', but this is coloured by planted trees that probably were planted after the farm had been

officially purchased. Gorras III on the other hand has a barren feel to its location. There is nothing remarkable on the immediate landscape that catches the eye, that draws one into a subjective feeling of ‘nice’ or ‘good’. Again, these are subjective issues that reflect personal bias from a 2020 perspective.

Given the structures independence from the main werf, the scenario from the working hypothesis is that the socioeconomics of the dwellers of Gorras III points to the possibility of them being bywoners or sharecroppers. These issues will be discussed in chapter nine.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANALYSIS OF GORRAS III MIDDEN 2 MATERIAL

MIDDEN 2 CERAMIC ANALYSIS WARE TYPES

From a first cursory glance, the ceramic assemblage from Gorras III (Fig 7.1), midden 2 has a lot more variety in the ware types and vessel forms when compared to Gorras IV. The descriptions and analysis of the associated ceramics is to explore the supposition that the materiality may be linked to dwellers with economic means and independence. In order to explore this possibility, the first step in the analysis was to count all the sherds and establish the minimum number of vessels (MNV) using the diagnostic features of the ceramics – rims and foot-rings (Chapter Six), and by compiling a table with the basic ware types (Table 7.1; Figure 7.2). The sample has a high frequency of refined earthenware at 57.5% of the MNV, followed by porcelain (29.2%) and stoneware (13.3%).

Figure 7. 1. Gorras III

Table 7. 1. Gorras III Midden 2 Ware Types

WARE TYPES	TOTAL SHERD COUNT	% TOTAL SHERD COUNTS	MNV	%MNV
Refined earthenware	206	71.2	65	57.5
Stoneware	22	7.6	15	13.3
Porcelain	61	21.1	33	29.2
TOTALS	**289**	**100**	**113**	**100**

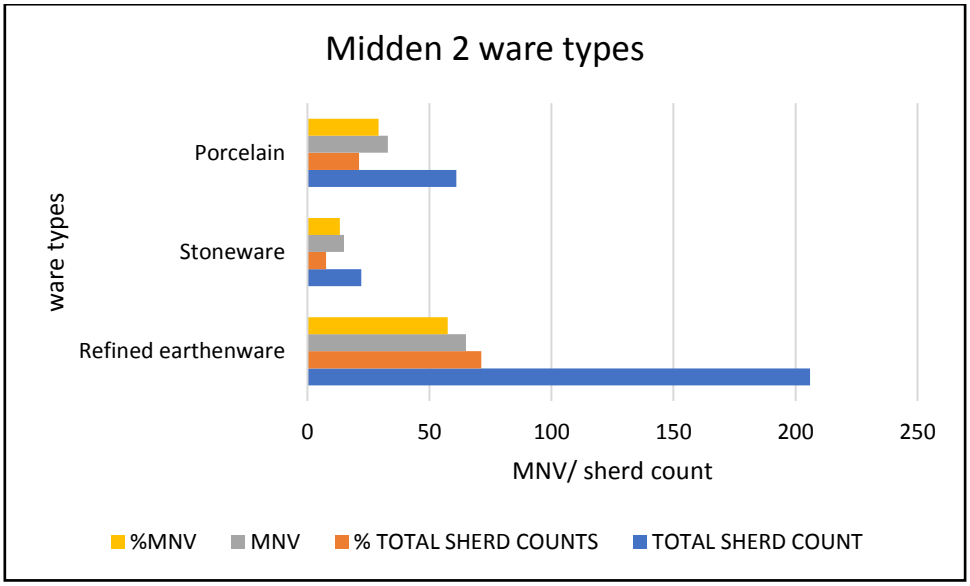

Figure 7. 2. Gorras III midden 2 ware types

Ware types were further sub-divided according to place of manufacture (Table 7.2 & Figure 7.3). The assemblage contained Asian porcelain and Asian stoneware as well as a high degree of undecorated European refined earthenware and some undecorated European porcelain. The Asian porcelain and stoneware in the assemblage has an early 20th century date (Klose and Malan 2009).

Table 7. 2. Gorras III Midden 2 ware types by provenance

WARE TYPES BY PROVENANCE	TOTAL SHERD COUNTS	% TOTAL SHERD COUNT	MNV	%MNV
Asian Porcelain	2	0.7	1	0.9
European Porcelain	59	28.6	32	28.3
Asian Stoneware	2	0.7	1	0.9
European Stoneware	20	6.9	14	12.4
European Refined Earthen Ware	206	71.3	65	57.5
TOTALS	**289**	**100**	**113**	**100**

The Gorras III assemblage has a total of 289 ceramic sherds and an MNV count of 113 vessels. Similar to Gorras IV, the European refined earthenware makes up the bulk of the assemblage (57.5%). The European porcelain is also represented by a significant percentage of the MNV (28.3%) and comprises largely undecorated vessels, whilst the Asian porcelain is decorated. There is a low frequency of Asian stoneware and Asian porcelain which both make up 0.9% of the assemblage respectively. The European stoneware comprises 12.4% of the assemblage (Fig 7.3).

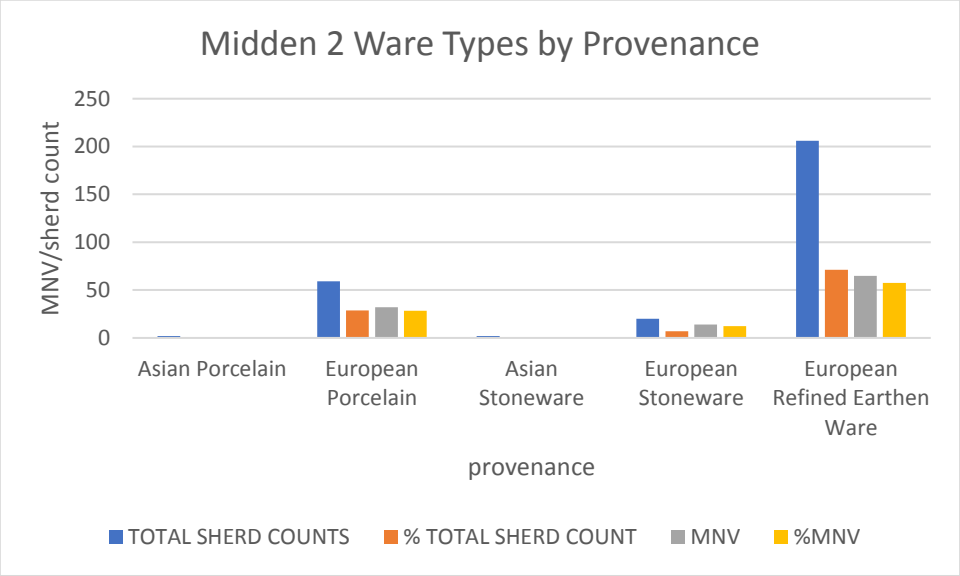

Figure 7. 3.. Gorras III Midden 2 ware types by provenance

Within the refined earthenware category, the majority were whiteware body vessels with print or painted designs except for a few full body glazed pieces which were common from the late 19th up until early 20th century (Moffett 2010). The range in the diversity of provenance types required that they be categorised by decoration type (Table 7.3; Fig 7.4).

Table 7. 3. Classification by decoration (including decorated porcelain)

CERAMIC DECORATION TYPES	TOTAL SHERD COUNTS	% SHERD COUNTS	MNV	% MNV
Undecorated Refined earthenware	120	71.4	27	33.8
Transfer printed	12	7.1	19	28.8
Painted	10	6	10	12.5
Painted and Sponged	5	3	5	6.3
Sponged	6	3.6	5	6.3
Slipware	3	1.8	3	3.8
Modified Edge	1	0.6	1	1.3
Moulded Body/Embossed	3	1.8	3	3.8
Coloured Body Refined Earthen Ware	2	1.2	2	2.5
Coloured Porcelain	2	1.2	1	1.3
Salt Glazed stoneware	2	1.2	2	2.5
Liquid glazed stoneware	2	1.2	2	2.5
TOTALS	**168**	**100**	**80**	**100**

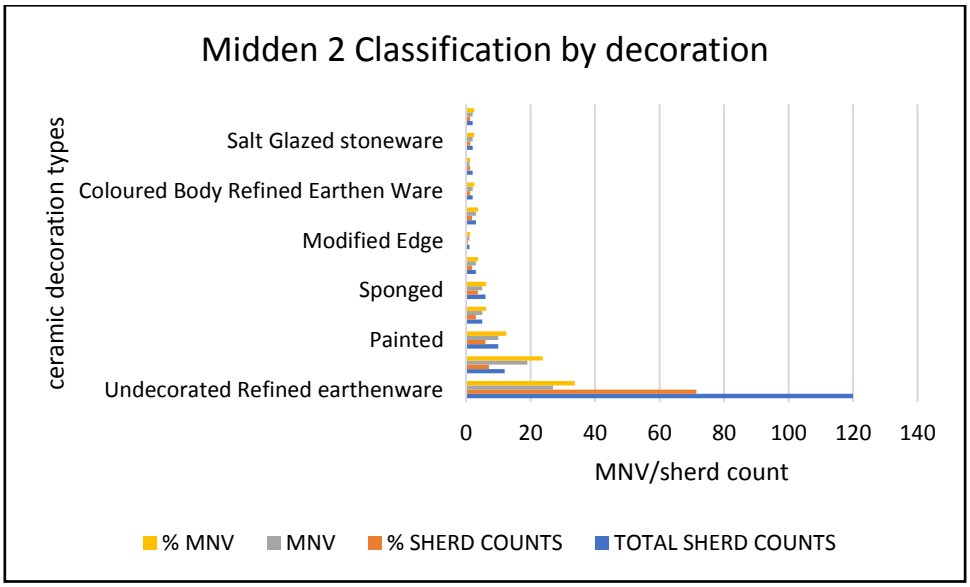

Figure 7. 4. Gorras III Midden 2 Classification by decoration.

The refined European earthenware will be discussed first followed by the porcelain and stone ware categories.

REFINED INDUSTRIAL EARTHENWARE

UNDECORATED

Undecorated refined industrial earthenware dominates the assemblage and makes up over 33.8% of the MNV (Table 7.3, Figure7.4). As noted in Chapter Six, the classification of ceramics by design is more useful because the ware types provide very little information other than establishing a broad chronology in 19th and 20th century assemblages (Miller 1980:15). Klose & Malan (1999) note that, "by the nineteenth century, ceramic form and function were no longer invariably connected to a particular ware type" (Klose & Malan 1999: 50). This was largely due to the growing popularity of the British industrial refined earthenware in ceramic markets and the industrialisation of the production and decoration process that led to faster and cheaper production (ibid:50).

TRANSFER PRINTED

Transfer printed wares are the second highest occurring decoration type from midden 2 in the refined earthenware category, and blue transfer print vessels are the most popular (Table 7.3, Fig 7.4). Other colours include green, red, black and brown transfer printed vessels. The green and blue transfer printed vessels have the highest frequency in the assemblage, they each make up 36.8% of the %MNV and they collectively make up over 73% of the transfer print MNV. Less popular are the red and black transfer prints at 10.5% and the least occurring is the brown transfer print at 5.3% (Table 7.4 and Figure 7.5).

Table 7. 4. Gorras III midden 2 transfer printed vessels

TRANSFER PRINTS	TOTAL SHERD COUNT	% TOTAL SHERDS	MNV	%MNV
Blue transfer print	15	55.6	7	36.8
Green transfer print	7	25.9	7	36.8
Red transfer print	2	7.4	2	10.5
Black transfer print	2	7.4	2	10.5
Brown transfer print	1	3.7	1	5.3
TOTAL	27	100	19	100

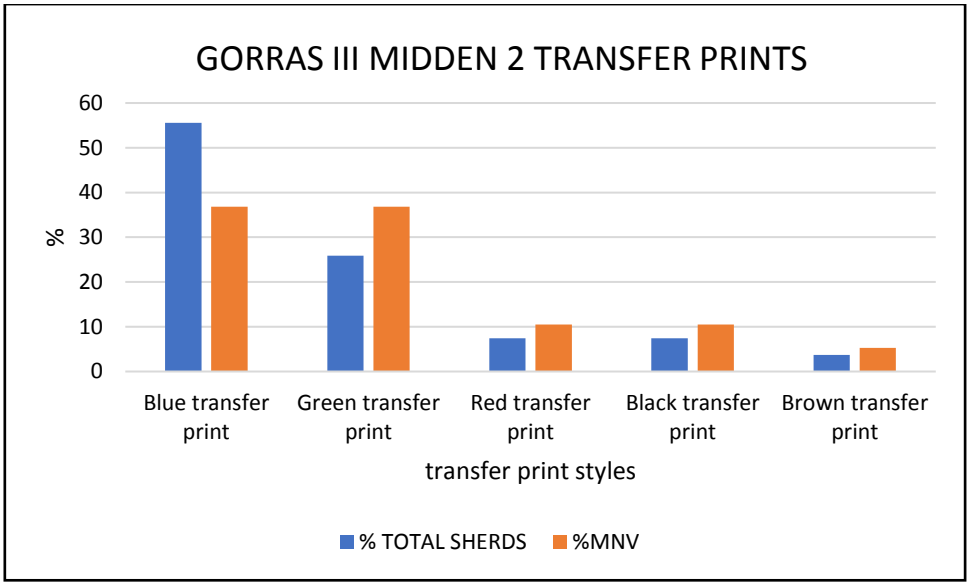

Figure 7. 5. Midden 2 Percentage Frequency of transfer printed vessels.

BLUE TRANSFER PRINT

The two most striking blue transfer printed vessels that can assist in attributing a chronology are the willowware pattern (Fig 7.6) and the wild rose pattern (Fig 7.7). The blue willowware pattern has a mean production range between 1793 and 1873, meaning this was the peak production period (Samford 1997), however, the blue willow ware design is still being printed. The wild rose pattern blue transfer printed design was popular in the Cape between the 1830s and 1850s (Klose 2007).

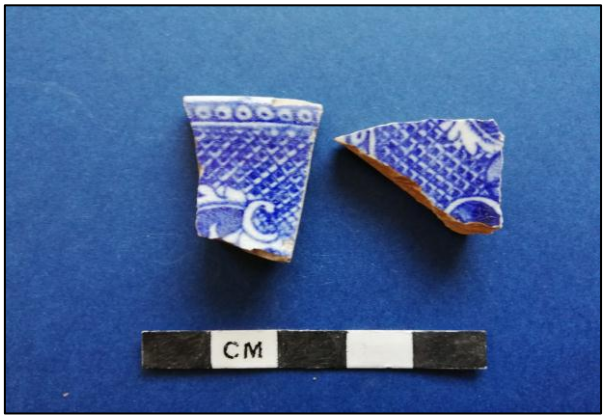

Figure 7. 6. Willow ware pattern flatware midden 2

Figure 7. 7. Wild Rose pattern Gorras III midden 2

GREEN TRANSFER PRINT

Green transfer printed vessels make up 36.8% of the transfer print MNV (see Table 7.4, Figure 7.5). Klose (2007) notes that these single print vessels were produced after the 1820s (see also Table 6.5 and 6.6 in chapter 6 and Samford 1997). Samford (1997) assigns a mean production date between 1818 and 1869, however, the green printed vessels continue to be produced after this date. The green transfer printed vessels from midden 2, include both the vine pattern and the ribbon coil pattern (Fig 7.8).

Figure 7. 8. Midden 2 Green transfer print sherds. Left is the vine pattern; right is ribbon and coil pattern.

RED AND BLACK TRANSFER PRINT

Red and black transfer printed vessels are low in frequency (10.5% each; Table 7.4). The red transfer print vessels are mostly made up of floral patterns, the design possibly covered the entire vessel (Fig 7.9). The red transfer print has a mean and peak production date that ranges between 1818 and 1880 (Samford 1997).

Figure 7. 9 Red transfer print floral print bowl

The black transfer printed sherds from midden 2 have seaweed or coral patterns (Fig 7.10a), which were popular post the mid-19th century, and a wheat pattern whose period of manufacture has not been identified due to the fragmentary nature of the pattern (Fig 7.10b).

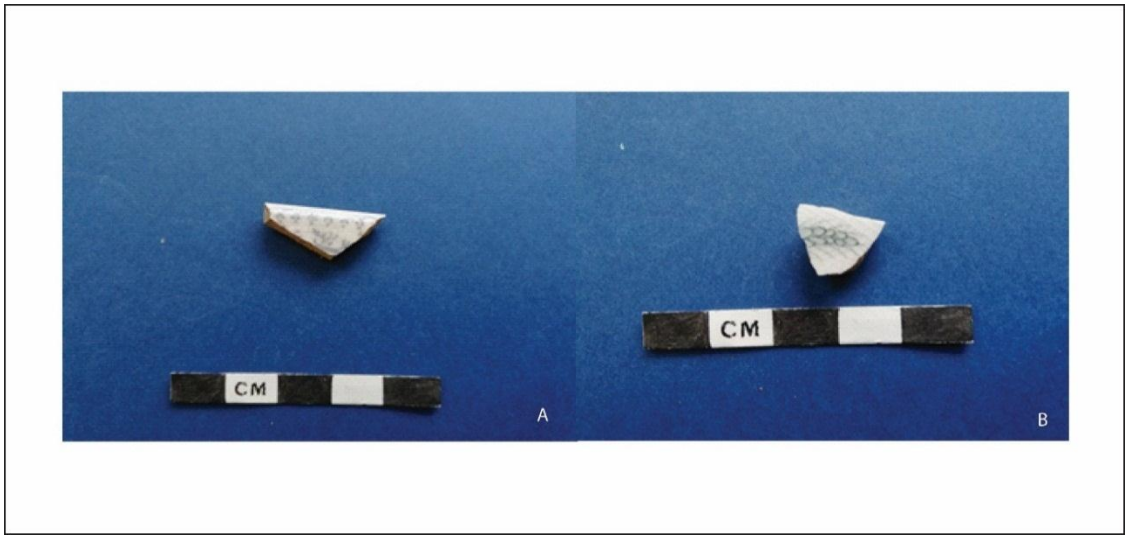

Figure 7. 10a Midden 2 Coral pattern and 7.10b Midden 2 wheat design, pattern

MAKERS MARKS (GREEN AND BLACK TRANSFER PRINT)

The excavation from midden 2 also yielded a ceramic vessel with a maker's mark from Copeland & Garret (Fig 7.11). Copeland & Garret were manufactures of earthenware, print, and fine porcelain at Stoke between 1833 and 1847, they succeeded Josiah Spode from 1833. Copeland and Garret was succeeded by Messrs W.T. Copeland & Son who continued from 1847 up until 1970. This green transfer printed vessel gives us one of the earliest dates for Gorras III midden 2. The 1847 date is far earlier than the 1862 date when the land was first leased by the Jankowitz brothers. This could possibly indicate an earlier occupation, or a vessel purchased at a much earlier date and then discarded after 1862.

Figure 7. 11. Midden 2 Green transfer printed makers mark (Copeland & Garrett).

One sherd had the makers mark [J & G] MEA [KIN]... [HA] NLEY…[ENG]LAND. J & G, who were a North Staffordshire pottery manufacturer from Eagle and Eastwood pottery works on Hanley, Stoke-on-Tent. Markers marks with 'England' denote a post 1890 date (http://www.thepotteries.org/mark/m/meakin_jg.html). (Fig 7.12a and Fig 7.12b) (Godden 1964:427). The focus of the makers marks from the late 19th century tend to emphasize the properties of the vessels. They were particularly sturdy and resistant to chips and they became the preferred vessel for everyday use and were generally referred to as 'iron stone' or 'white granite' due to their strength and hygienic properties (Moffett 2010).

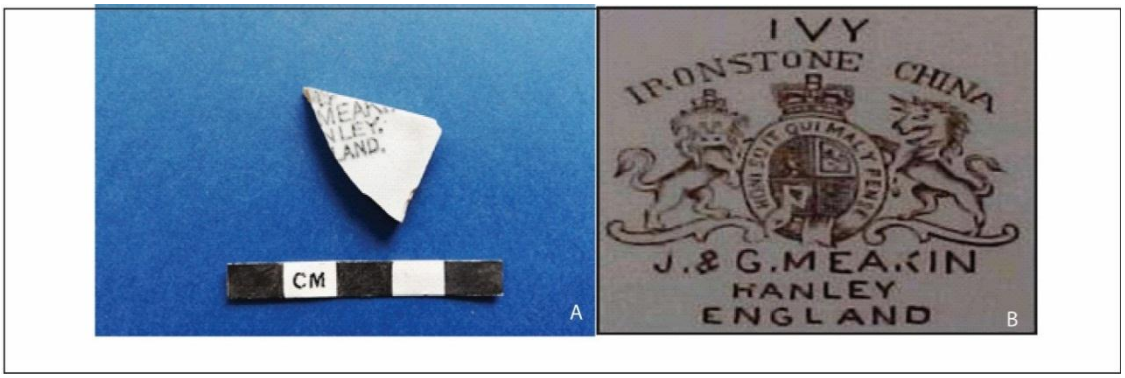

Figure 7. 12a J &G MEA (KIN)... (HA) NLEY…(ENG) LAND partial makers mark 7.12b with full makers mark.

BROWN TRANSFER PRINT

There are two brown sherds, from one flatware vessel (Fig 7.13). The design possibly depicts a wreath, geometric patterns and a trellis. Samford (1997) assigned a mean production date for brown transfer printed vessels ranging between 1818 and 1869, and if it has an ivory body, the date ranges between 1873 and 1895. The midden 2 sherds have a refined earthenware body and are not ivory ware, and the date range would be the former.

Figure 7. 13. Brown transfer printed flatware.

DIPPED OR ALL OVER BODY PAINT AND GLAZE

The assemblage has two sherds with an ‘all-over-glaze,’ (Figs 7.14 and 7.15). The ‘all over body glaze’ ceramics usually have blue or green polychrome glazes (Moffett 2010). Midden 2 has one sherd painted in a bright blue all over body glaze with a gold gilding along the rim of the plate (Fig 7.14). This type was popular through the late 19th century and the early 20th century. The blue fragment is most likely part of a plate. Additionally, the assemblage has an all over glazed black tea pot (Fig 7.15) over a brown refined earthenware body. These tea pots were popular through the late 19th century and the early 20th century (Klose 2007, HARG reference catalogue).

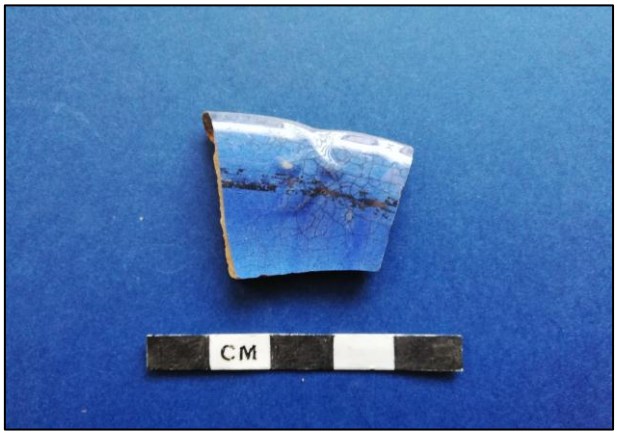

Figure 7. 14. Midden 2 Blue paint ‘all-over-glaze’ with gilded rim.

Figure 7. 15. Black body glaze teapot.

MOULDED BODY VESSELS

A high number of whiteware sherds have moulded patterns on the rim. These vessels are all flatware and large plates. Klose (2007) notes that these vessels were popular from the late 19th century into the 20th century and that they are still very popular today (Figs 7.16 and 7.17). Figure 7.16 has a floral pattern which likely continues around the rim of the plate and Figure 7.17 has ripple pinched moulding over rim which also continues around the rim of the plate.

Figure 7. 16. Midden 2 moulded flatware vessel.

Figure 7. 17. Midden 2 moulded flatware vessel.

PAINTED, SPONGED AND ANNULAR CERAMICS

The painted, sponged and annular sherds make up over 20% of the MNV (Tables 7.3 and Fig 7.4).

PAINTED CERAMICS

The painted ceramics make up 12.9% of the MNV. Stylistically, the painted ceramics are largely decorated with pinkish/red polychrome floral designs. The designs are on the outside of hollowware bowls (Fig 7.18a). The one sherd has a leafy green pattern (Fig 7.18b), and another (Fig 7.19), has been knapped and worked into a gaming piece. The harsh polychrome colours on these bowls, can be dated to the mid to late 19th century (see Zachariou 2017).

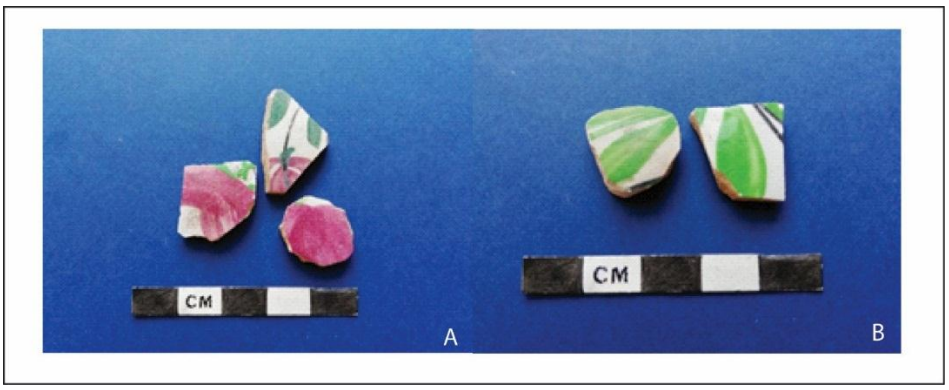

Figure 7. 18a. Pinkish floral pattern Figure 7.18b Green leafy pattern.

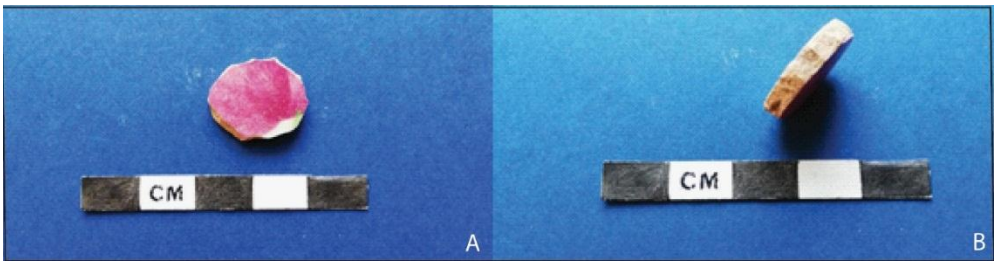

Figure 7. 19a. Painted bowl game piece with knapped edges perspective midden 2. 7.19b. View of knapping along edges of game piece.

SPONGED VESSELS

Spongeware ceramics also have a variety of polychrome cut sponge patterns, most frequently of floral designs (Figs 7.20a and Fig 7.20b, Table 7.3).

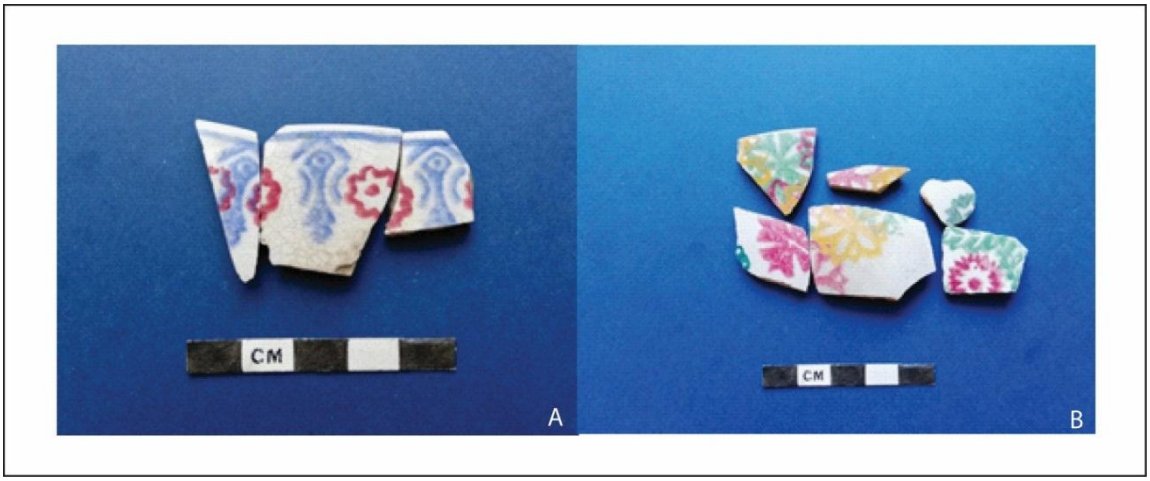

Figure 7. 20a. Cut sponge polychrome bowl. Figure 7.20b Polychrome cut sponge with floral pattern.

SLIPWARE

Finally, there is a low frequency of industrial slipware. There is one slipware bowl, in the assemblage. The bowl has brown slip bands around its body (Fig 7.21).

Figure 7. 21. Brown slip band bowl

PORCELAIN

European porcelain is the second most frequently occurring ware from midden 2 of which most is undecorated porcelain in the assemblage (see Table 7.2 and Table 7.3).

EUROPEAN PORCELAIN

This porcelain is mostly made up of teacups, teacup handles and saucers (Fig 7.22), and there are also fragments of dolls legs (Fig 7.23). The majority of the porcelain is largely undecorated, however, there are fragments of porcelain associated with this assemblage that are decorated, primarily through transfer and decal printing.

Figure 7. 22. Midden 2 Undecorated porcelain tea ware.

Figure 7. 23. Porcelain doll leg midden 2.

There is one refitted piece of unglazed hard paste pink porcelain of indeterminate function (Fig 7.24). It is perforated at one end and I infer that rope or elastic was fed into the perforated end and suggest that the object may have acted as a 19th century moustache protector although this is speculative. This fragment might possibly come from a doll or knick-knack; however, the fragments are too small to tell (see also https://desert.com/archaeology-children/).

Figure 7. 24. Pink hard paste unglazed porcelain figurine, Pink porcelain doll or knick-knack

EUROPEAN DECORATED PORCELAIN

Midden 2 has pieces of green transfer printed decorated porcelain (Fig 7.25), which are an overglaze enamel which was likely manufactured during the late 19th century or early 20th century.

Figure 7. 25. Midden 2 transfer printed porcelain.

ASIAN PORCELAIN

The assemblage has two sherds of an Asian porcelain cup which have been refitted, it is painted in blue and green. (Fig 7.26).

Figure 7. 26. Asian painted porcelain

EUROPEAN STONEWARE

The stoneware category has a wide diversity of stoneware vessels ranging between liquid glazed and salt glazed wares as well as cobalt blue wares. European stoneware makes up 13.3% of the MNV (Table 7.2). They are either salt glazed or liquid glazed with a variety of brown tonal finishes (Fig 7.27). Additionally, the assemblage has some fragments of engraved stoneware which are likely 19th century vessels (Klose 2007). The engraving on the fragment of salt glazed stoneware is too fragmentary to provide any useful chronological data (Fig 7.27).

Figure 7. 27. Midden 2 profile of stoneware vessels.

ASIAN STONEWARE

Asian stoneware makes up 0.9% of the MNV. The assemblage has two fragments of cobalt blue-grey jars (Fig 7.28), the vessels are possibly stoneware ginger jars referred to as provincial ware or Asian market ware. They have an underglaze blue decoration and an early 20th century date (Klose 2007).

Figure 7. 28. Pale blue-grey cobalt 'Ginger jar' midden 2.

CERAMIC COMPLEXION BRIEF DISCUSSION

Besides the transfer printed vessels, midden 2 at Gorras III has a range of other refined earthenware vessels represented in the assemblage. The range of decoration fits squarely within a later 19th century British ceramic profile. However, what is striking about the midden 2 ceramics is the high frequency of undecorated whiteware. Despite the fact that the undecorated refined earthenware reflects a later 19th century collection, the diversity and colour of refined earthenware vessels is relatively limited. This ceramic profile will be further discussed in relation to the other Gorras assemblages. This is similar at other sites particularly Schimmelfontein (Moffett 2010) and Kerkplaats (Zachariou 2017) which have similar assemblages of late 19th/early 20th century date.

FORM AND FUNCTION

The form and function were established with the same method and approach outlined for the analysis of the Gorras IV assemblage (see Part 2: Methodology). The diagnostic vessels were then subdivided into flatware, hollowware, and other, with the other category containing items used ornamentally or recreationally, such as pipe stems. Using the same logic as Klose and Malan (1998, 2000 and 2007), the ceramics were categorised by form or function using their ware type and provenance (Table 7.5, Fig 7.29, Fig 7.30). Different plate and dish sizes were identified using circumference estimates. Teacups often have a delicate upper body with a distinctive curve, and bowls also have a distinctive curve and a thicker rim and have a much thicker body. Additionally, the decoration type on the vessel can also be used to assign function. In the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, bowls were almost always decorated using the sponge, slip or painted and sponged decoration types (Klose & Malan 2009; Moffett 2010; Zachariou 2017), however, decoration does not however always assign function as, the midden 2 also has a red floral transfer printed bowl (Fig 7.10).

Table 7. 5. Midden 2 form and function

FORM & POSSIBLE FUNCTION	ASIAN PORCELAIN	EUROPEAN PORCELAIN	REFINED INDUSTRIAL EARTHENWARE	ASIAN STONEWARE	EUROPEAN STONEWARE	MNV	MNV %
FOOD& DRINK STORAGE							
JAR/MARTEVAN/CROCK	1			1			
GINGER BEER BOTTLE					14		
						16	**14.2**
FOOD SERVING & CONSUMPTION							
PLATE 220-250MM			34				
PLATE LESS 190MM			1				
BOWL MEDIUM			25				
BOWL/ TUREEN & COVER			2				
						62	**54.9**
DRINKING							
CUP		17	1				
SAUCER		13					
TEA/COFFEE POT		1					
						32	**28.3**
HEALTH & HYGIENE							
PHARMACEUTICAL			1				
						1	**0.9**

OTHER							
TOYS		1					
ORNAMENTS		2					
						2	**1.8**
TOTALS	**1**	**33**	**64**	**1**	**14**	**113**	**100**

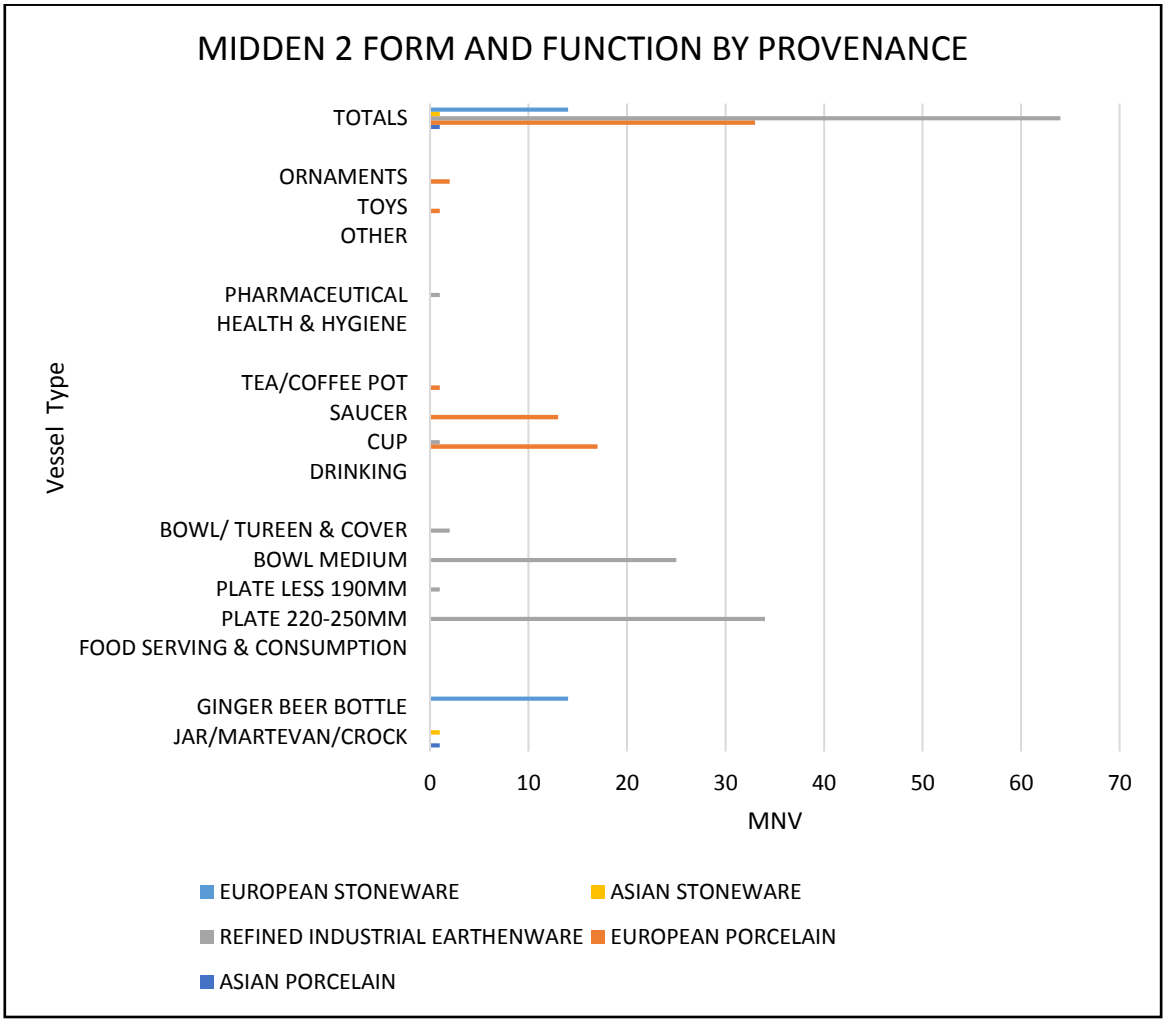

Figure 7. 29. Gorras. III midden 2.

Table 7. 6. Midden 2 flatware versus hollowware

FORM AND FUNCTION	FLATWARE	HOLLOWWARE	OTHER	TOTALS
MNV	48	45	20	113
MNV%	42.5	39.8	17.7	100

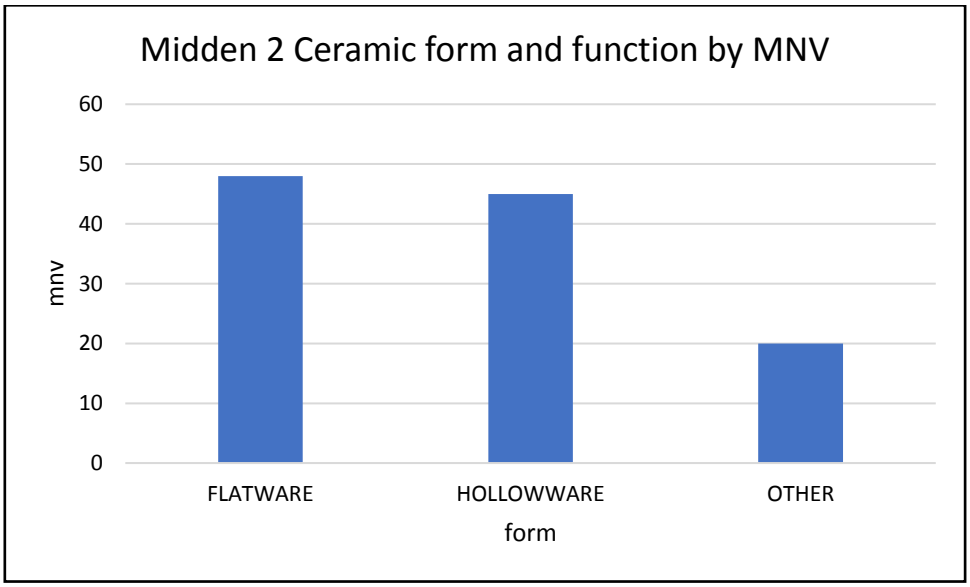

Figure 7. 30. Midden 2 Flatware versus Hollowware

There are large and medium plates in the assemblage as well as a tureen (Table 7.5). The presence of the tureen could indicate that the vessel was a part of a matched dinner service. The assemblage also has pharmaceutical jars and the presence of porcelain toys and ornaments points to a further element of display and entertaining.

GORRAS III: GLASS ANALYSIS

The analysis of the ceramic assemblage indicates a late 19th century and early 20th century date for midden 2. Consequently, the innovations in glass production introduced from the mid-19th century can be expected. In the classification by colour, clear glass made up the majority of the glass in the assemblage (46.4%). Dark green is the second most popular colour type (23.2%) followed by brown glass (12.5%) and blue glass (10.7%) (Table 7.7). In connection to this, dark olive green or black glass was common up until the 1860s and it

became less common as clearer or lighter coloured glass became more widely used by manufacturers.

The same method used for the Gorras IV glass analysis will be applied here. The diagnostic features used are the neck, shoulder, lips, and bases. From determining the diagnostic features, the fragments were then grouped according to their possible form or function, either as containers (food or beverage), medicinal bottles (toiletry or apothecary), and tableware, as well as the miscellaneous category.

I have calculated the MNV using colour and the diagnostic features.

Table 7. 7. Midden 2 Glass classification by colour

COLOUR	MNV	%MNV
Clear	26	46.4
Blue	6	10.7
Dark Green	13	23.2
Light Sea Green	1	1.8
Solarized or Purple (White)	3	5.5
Brown	7	12.5
TOTAL	**56**	**100**

GLASS: FORM AND FUNCTION

The form and function were ascertained directly after calculating the MNV using colour. The form and function categories were beverage consumption, toiletry or apothecary and tableware. The vessels were classed within these categories through the lip type (patent lip, prescription lip, crown top, champagne top or v-shaped lips), the base form (rounded, square or oval), and whether the bottle had a pontil and push-up or if it had a flat base and a makers mark. Table 7.8 and Figure 7.31 has the MNV count for each of the glass fragments in reference to the form and function.

Table 7. 8. Form and function of glass in midden 2.

FORM AND FUNCTION	BEVERAGE	TOILETRY AND APOTHECARY	TABLEWARE	TOTALS
MNV	7	31	1	38
%MNV	18.4	81.6	2.6	100

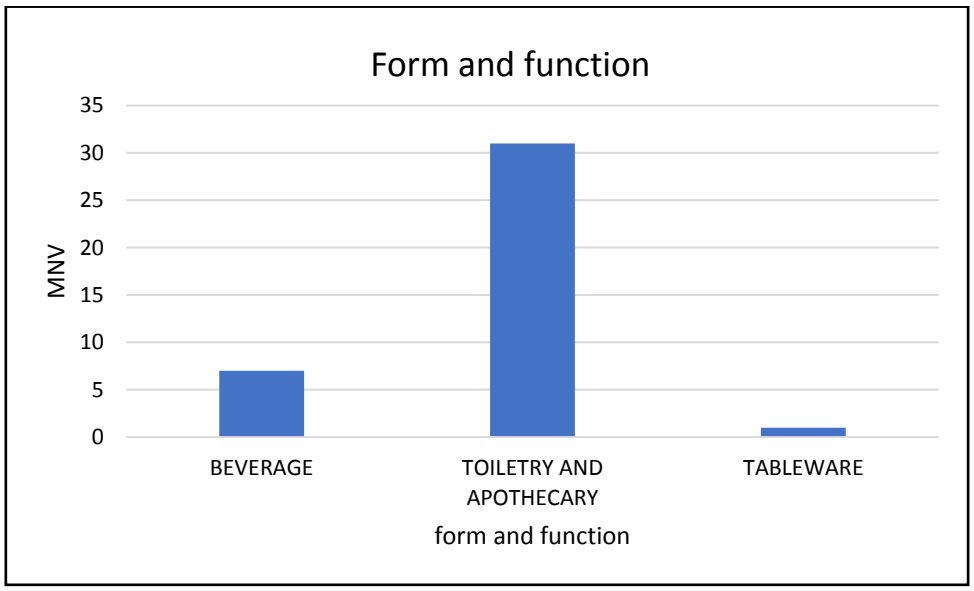

Figure 7. 31. Glassware form and function from midden 2.

The toiletry/apothecary type category has the highest frequency in the assemblage. The second most frequent glass type in the assemblage is associated with the food or beverage container type glass, and the assemblage also contains fragments of tableware.

CLEAR GLASS

Midden 2 has a high frequency of clear glass (Table 7.7). The clear glass types in this assemblage are either apothecary or carbonated water beverage containers. The apothecary type glass commonly has a patent or prescription lip. Both of these vessel types were largely used for medicine or extract bottles (Jones et.al 1985:81). One of the clear glass types is from a prescription lip bottle (Fig 7.32a). The apothecary type vessels with the patent and

prescription lips give the site a date between the mid- to late 19th century into the early 20th century (Miller & Sullivan 1984).

SOLARIZED 'PURPLE' GLASS

There are fragments of blue and purple glass which have been solarized due to the manganese turning to an amethyst colour. Jones et.al. (1985:13) notes that, "manganese, called the glassmakers soap", was used to overcome the light green or yellow tint of iron oxide in the batch… "the resultant turns a slight purplish tint after prolonged exposure to the ultraviolet rays of the sun. This type of glass was most common from the last quarter of the 19th century until World War 1 but does occur earlier, especially in the 18th century French grizzled glasses" (Jones et.al 1985:13). Midden 2 has two of these glass types with patent lips (Fig 7.32b). The majority of the vessels associated with this category have cylindrical bodies and shallow concave or flat bases. One of the more striking vessel types associated with midden 2 is the purple (white) glass with a diamond moulded and round body (Fig 7.33).

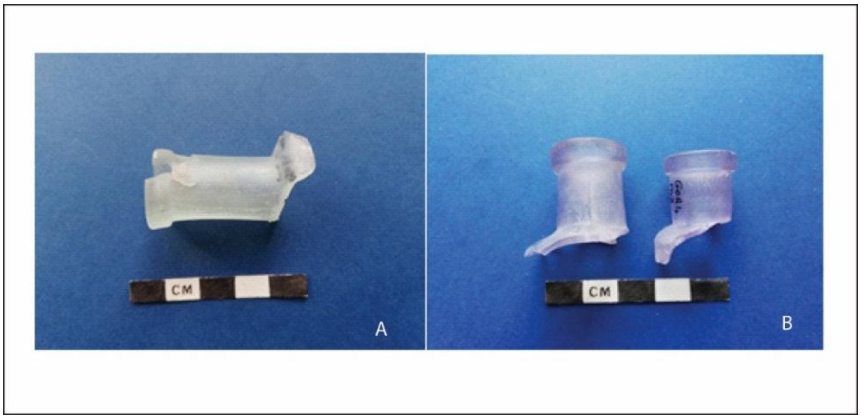

Figure 7. 32a Prescription lip on clear glass Figure 7.32b Patent lip glass

Figure 7. 33. Manganese diamond shaped glass.

BLUE GLASS

Blue glass was largely associated with medicinal and poison bottles in the 19th and 20th century (https://sha.org/bottle/colors.htm). There is a glass piece with grooved linear ridges on it (Fig 7.34a), a feature used to also identify a poison bottle by touch. Figure 7.34b has a patent lip found on medicine or extract bottles of the late 19th and early 20th century (Jones et.al 1985).

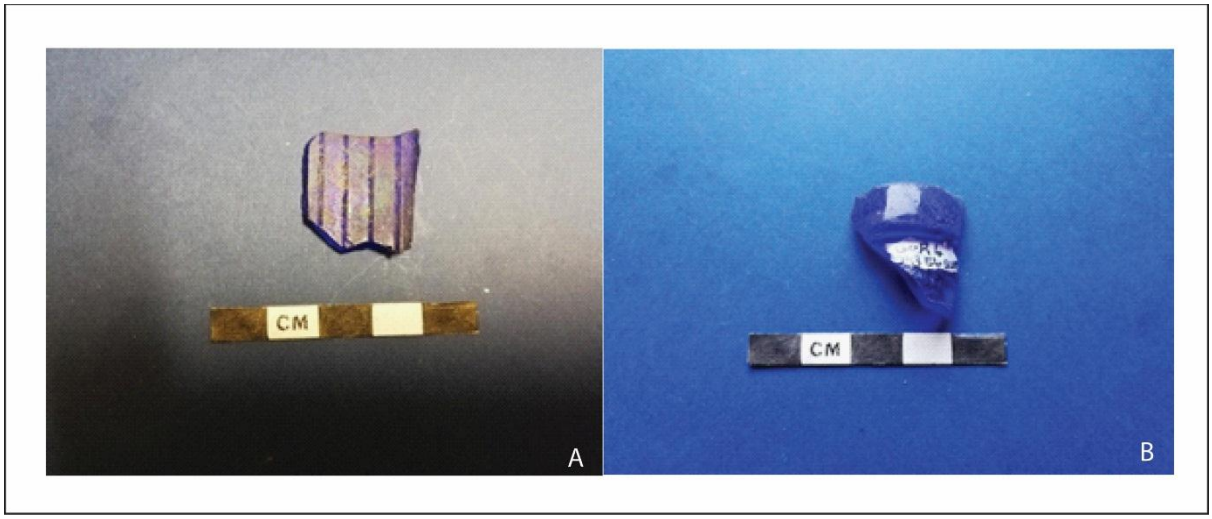

Figure 7. 34a. Blue glass with linear ridges. Figure 7.34b Blue glass with a patent lip

DARK GREEN AND BROWN GLASS

The dark green and brown glass from midden 2 is largely associated with alcoholic beverages. Figure 7.35 is a partial fragment of the South African Breweries embossed label on the one brown glass fragment. The South African breweries trademark was registered in London in May 1895, however, the company was trading well before this registration (https://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/4/The-South-African-Breweries-Limited.html). Additionally, there are green and brown bottle bases with flat heels which are also alcohol bottles (Fig 7.36).

Figure 7. 35. Brown South African breweries glass

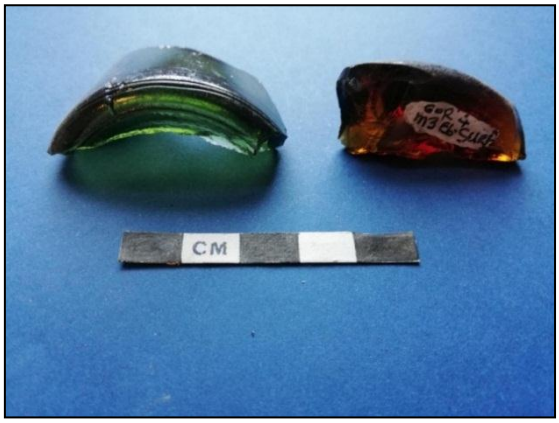

Figure 7. 36. Green and brown glass flat heels

The association of brown and green glass with alcohol is also supported by the presence of crown lips (Fig 7.37).

Figure 7. 37. Crown top lip.

The body and base types associated with the green glass have bulged/bell-shaped, shallow concave and flat bases. These base types were popular through the 18th and 19th century. One of the bases from midden 2 has a pontil mark and some flaking of the glass due to possible exposure to high temperatures (Fig 7.38).

Figure 7. 38. Push-up/ kick-up base (Push-up or pick up base [Bell shaped]) with pontil mark

The assemblage also has a lime-green bottle (Fig 7.39), which seems to have been exposed to very high temperatures post-deposition and then consequently compressed or squashed. The diagnostic features associated with this vessel are difficult to analyse, however, the fragment

seems to have part of the base of a bottle. It could possibly be part of a carbonated water container.

Figure 7. 39. Lime-green high-fired and compressed glass.

GORRAS III: METAL ANALYSIS

Midden 2 has a range of metal pieces. There are fragments of metal with modifications, cuttings and a range of perforated sheets of metal, handwrought nails, wire and rods. The diagnostic metal was grouped and classed into types which include: wire, tin sheets, locks, spikes, furniture, indeterminant rods, ornamental pieces, jewellery, fasteners (studs, clothing), building, kitchenware, cooking, pieces with diagnostic features but which could not be specifically identified, bullet casings, sickles, recycled alloys, recycled tin, containers and alloy pieces (Table 7.9; see Appendix E).

The midden contains a range of bullet cartridge casings, some of which could have been linked with the South African war. This includes 303 cartridges as well as Lee Metford bullet casings and Martini Henry casings, which were all used between the 1860s and 1945. Lee Metfords, with 303 cartridges were largely used by Boer commandos during the guerrilla phase of the South African war, but these models were also imported into South Africa long

before the war (NAM. 1998-03-11-1). Martini-Henry's were also used on the British side (Fig 7.40, 7.41; see NAM. 1995-01-208-1).

Figure 7. 40. Lee Metford 303-inch rifle (National Army Museum London).

Figure 7. 41. Martini Henry (National Army Museum London)

Midden 2 has one bullet casing that dates to the mid-late 20th century from a Westly Richards rifle. The diagnostic metal associated with the assemblage was counted and the MNV established, the percentage MNV was then calculated and the frequency plotted (Table 7.9 and Fig 7.42)

The assemblage has a high frequency of diagnostic metal but the specific function or larger composite artefacts from which these pieces come could not be identified (Fig 7.42). The diagnostic metal has fragments of a cast iron vessel, there are also some alloy and tin

fragments as well as sheets of tin which have been reworked (see Appendix E for midden 2 diagnostic metal).

Table 7. 9.Gorras III midden 2 diagnostic metal

TYPE	METAL PIECES NUMBER	% PIECES
Wires	6	9.7
Tin sheets	9	14.5
Locks	1	1.6
Spikes	3	4.8
Furniture (Bed frame)	3	4.8
Indeterminant Rods	3	4.8
Misc. Iron Pieces		
Ornamental	2	3.2
Jewellery	1	1.6
Fasteners		
Studs	2	3.2
Clothing	3	4.8
Building		
Washers	1	1.6
Homeware		
Kitchenware (enamel tray)	2	3.2
Cooking (cast iron pot)	2	3.2
Diagnostic (Function unknown)	18	29
Farmyard miscellaneous		
Sickle	1	1.6
Recycled Alloy	2	3.2
Recycled Tin	2	3.2
Possible container		
Alloy	1	1.6
Bullet casings		
Lee Metford	2	3.2
Westly Richards	2	3.2
Martini-Henry	1	1.6
TOTALS	67	100

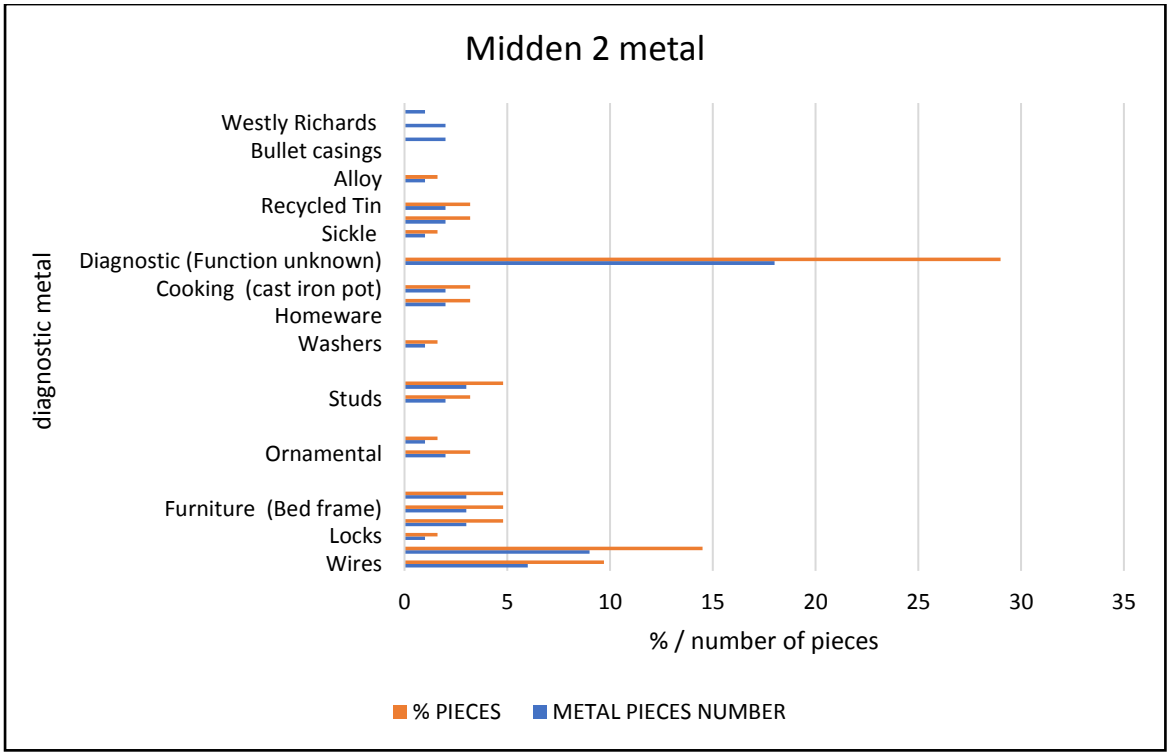

Figure 7. 42. Gorras III midden 2 diagnostic metal

There are fragments of iron described here such as spikes which might have been used for securing structures or joining large pieces of wood. There are also some fragments which can be linked to use as parts of clothing, and these include button fasteners and fragments from other pieces of clothing (see Appendix E). Despite corrosion, the nails are probably machine made, because from the mid-1800s there was a high occurrence of machine-made nails and by the 1890s, most nails were machine made (Nelson 1968; Wells 1998). There are some alloy nails and they can be dated to mass production from the 1870s (Wells 1998).

The impression given by the midden 2 metal is that of a working farmyard with a range of activities and artefacts (wire, spikes etc). The presence of a sickle blade indicates the harvesting of either winter wheat or lucerne and as mentioned above, although individual iron pieces clearly come from larger composite machines or tools, many cannot be identified as to where they fit within larger technologies (Table 7.9 and Appendix E). In terms of the household functions the assemblage also had some kitchen ware through the presence of

enamel plates as well as cast iron pot lids, bed frames and the feet of bed were also present in this assemblage. The picture this material gives extends the impression of the household as having the means to purchase furnishings.

It is in the metal artefacts that can be classified as kitchenware, or more specifically for cooking, that take us into the domestic realm of Gorras III. Two enamel baking trays (enamel on caste iron) would fit into the 9x11 or 7x7 inch categories and could have been bought as individual items or as part of a cooking kitchen set. By the 1880s there had been significant innovation in the production of enamel kitchenware and these baking trays had become a global commodity (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vitreous_enamel). As the name implies, these were baking trays, or pie dishes and if used at Gorras III for this purpose, would have been used within an oven, and not on an open flame. Additionally, the presence of caste iron pot lids also infers cooking vessels either from casserole or stewing pots, a large saucepan or a three-legged cooking pot. If the latter, then this would have been used on an open fire, but if they were from flat base casserole stew pots or large saucepans, these could also have been used on the top of a cast iron oven. Furthermore, the recovery of a piece of the cast iron ornate trelliswork that would have been part of the head frame or the base of a bed, takes us into the private interior of the Gorras III household (Fig 7.43).

Figure 7. 43. Bedframe trellis.

The kitchenware and furniture from midden 2 potentially resonate with the architectural expansion of Gorras III and this has obvious implications for the economic status of the occupants and the nature of the Gorras III household or households. Lastly, the presence of part of a pad lock indicates possessions or space to protect and secure, either in the form of a door, or a storage trunk. The lock in Figure 7.44a has a partial inscription on it, "secure Britannia Rego Brand" and it has the Britannia head as one of the logos. This brand was made by John Waine & Sons (Willenhall) LTD, which was established in 1845. An advert in the directory of "Staffordshire 1880 lists them as manufacturers of every description of tumbler, baron's patent and levered iron padlock" (see Fig 7.45) (http://www.historywebsite.co.uk/Museum/locks/gazetteer/gazwa-e.htm).

Figure 7. 44. Britannia works lock.

Figure 7. 45. Britannia works advertisement.

FAUNA

The fauna from midden 2 is almost entirely from bovid II size species, and the majority are sheep with some goat (Louisa Hutten pers. comm; October 2019.). The bone is heavily burnt to the point that the epiphysis of some of the bone have turned white (Figure 7.46; see Stiner et.al 1995; Ellingham et.al 2015). This black and then white discoloration would mostly be as a result of the bone being subject to extreme temperatures. Such temperatures would not have resulted from cooking but rather suggests that the extreme burning as the result of hot ash and embers being disposed of in the midden. This raises the question as to what source this ash came from. Additionally, there are fragments of burnt ostrich eggshell and this burning coincides with some of the burning seen in the ceramic assemblage of midden 3 which will be discussed in chapter eight.

Figure 7. 46. Burnt bone with bone scale from extreme burn to less extreme burn from left to right (Stiner et.al 1995).

SMALL FINDS: MIDDEN 2

There is an assortment of brown and black fabric fibres in the midden 2 assemblage. A number of light-blue, dark-blue and white plastic beads were recovered, as well some ostrich eggshell (Fig 7.47). These beads were largely associated with the surface sweep of the excavation. Ostrich eggshell fragments were counted and weighed. There is a range of plastic pieces from midden 2, toy like wheels, buttons and caps for containers which would be expected of this late 19th century/ early 20th century assemblage. Additionally, there are a range of small white and grey buttons, which range between 1cm and 1.5cm in diameter, however, there are no military buttons associated with this assemblage (Fig 7.47).

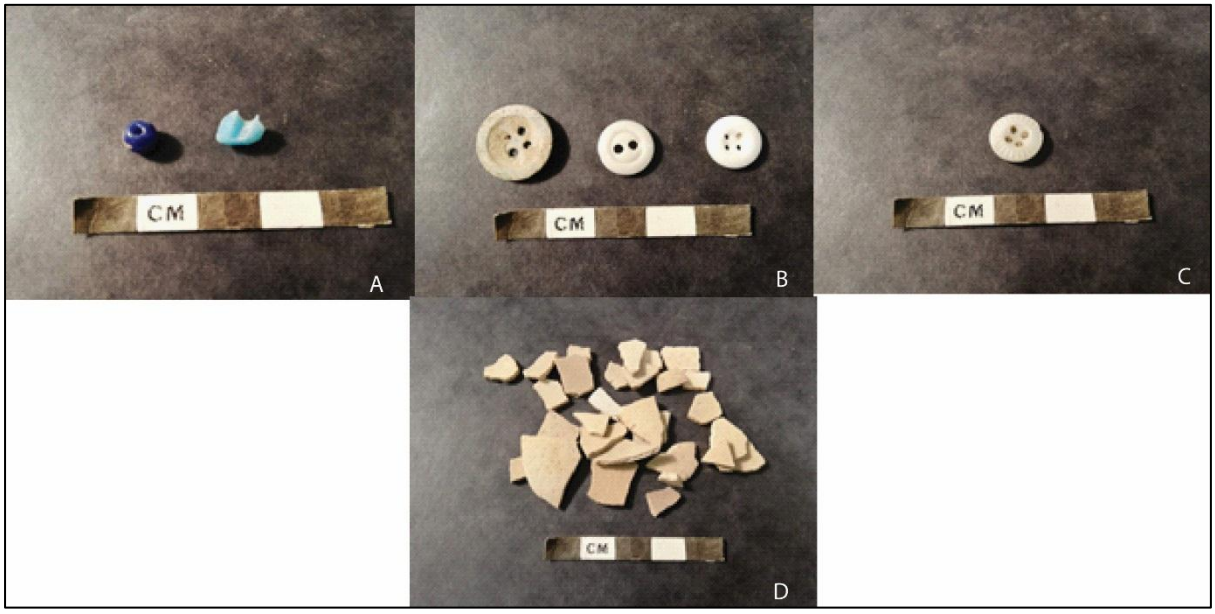

Figure 7. 47. **Small finds from midden 2**.

Before discussing the material from midden 2 in any detail, I first describe and present the material from midden 3 that follows in the next chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

ANALYSIS OF GORRAS III MIDDEN 3 EXCAVATION

This chapter describes the material from midden 3, which is located less than 10 metres east of midden 2. As discussed in Chapter Five, the distinct separation between the two middens begs the question as to why this distinction. One possibility is that they were used at different times in the development of the Gorras III household. Midden 3 is further away from the corbelled structure and a shift in dumping eastwards could correlate with the addition of the 'kitchen' (Fig 5.11) onto the eastern side of the corbelled house which 'pushed' dumping further away. The material in the middens might therefore reflect chronological differences as well as insight into the development of the Gorras III household. The analysis and the description of midden 3 continues to explore the economic status of the Gorras III household.

MIDDEN 3: CERAMIC ANALYSIS

The ceramic analysis follows the same methodology applied previously. The ceramics were classified according to their primary ware types, and these were then classified by the provenance. This initial classification showed that midden 3 also has a high proportion of refined earthenware vessels and European porcelain and very few stoneware vessels (Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1). The assemblage has four sherds of European stoneware (7.1% MNV). European porcelain makes up 14.3% of the MNV, however, the dominant ware type is European refined earthenware (78.6% of the MNV) referred to either as stone china or bone china due to its high vitrification, strength and hygienic properties.

Table 8. 1 Gorras III midden 3 ware type by provenance

PROVENANCE BY WARE TYPE	TOTAL SHERD COUNTS	% TOTAL SHERD	MNV	%MNV
European Porcelain	60	10.9	8	14.3
European Stoneware	4	2.2	4	7.1
European Refined Earthen Ware	159	86.9	131	78.6
TOTALS	223	100	56	100

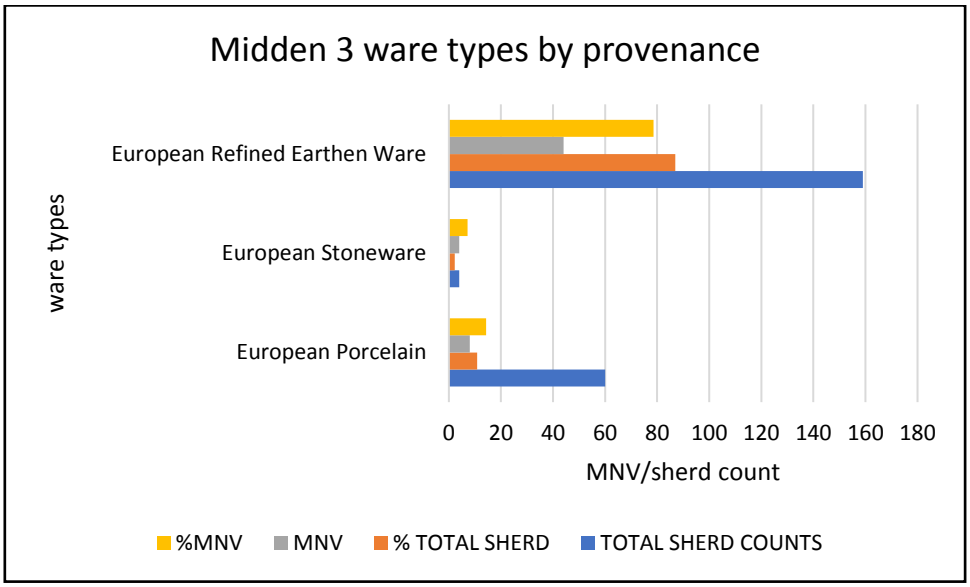

Figure 8. 1. Gorras III Midden 3 ware types by provenance.

The dominance of European refined earthenware continues as it does at Gorras IV and in midden 2 at Gorras III. The ceramics were then further classified by their decoration type (Table 8.2, Fig 8.2). Following this classification, I describe the European refined earthenware first.

Table 8. 2. Classification by decoration (refined earthenware and stoneware)

CERAMIC DECORATION TYPES	TOTAL SHERD COUNTS	% SHERD COUNTS	MNV	% MNV
Undecorated Refined earthenware	122	74.8	17	35.4
Transfer printed	12	7.4	9	18.8
Painted	10	6.1	5	10.4
Sponged	6	3.7	5	10.4
Slipware	3	1.8	3	6.3
Modified Edge	1	0.6	1	2.1
Moulded Body/Embossed	3	1.8	2	4.2
Coloured Body Refined Earthen Ware	2	1.2	2	4.2
Salt Glazed stoneware	2	1.2	2	4.2
Liquid glazed stoneware	2	1.2	2	4.2
TOTALS	163	100	48	100

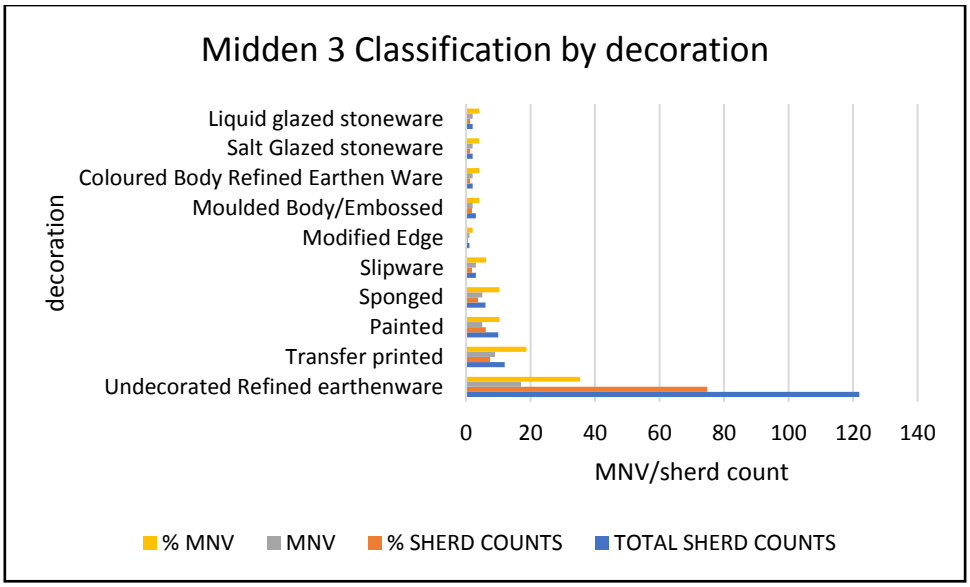

Figure 8. 2. **Gorras III Midden 3 Ceramic Classification by decoration types**.

REFINED EUROPEAN INDUSTRIAL EARTHENWARE

The midden 3 ceramic sample is much larger than that of midden 2. The undecorated ceramics made up 35.4% of the MNV, followed by the transfer printed ceramics, which make up 18.8% of the MNV and the painted decoration plates which made up 10.4% of the MNV. The other categories (slipped, sponged etc.) in this assemblage are diverse, and they collectively contribute to less than 20% of the assemblage.

UNDECORATED

Midden 3 has a high proportion of undecorated industrial refined earthenware. It mostly is made up of plates and there are fragments of saucers.

TRANSFER PRINTS

Transfer printed wares are the second most popular decoration types from midden 3. The total number of transfer printed sherds were counted and then the MNV and %MNV was calculated using the diagnostic features (Table 8.3, Figure 8.3). From midden 3, the blue transfer printed vessels are the most frequent, closely followed by the red transfer printed vessels. The green and black transfer printed sherds were the least represented in the transfer print category.

Table 8. 3. Gorras III midden 3 transfer printed vessels

TRANSFER PRINTS	TOTAL COUNTS	% TOTAL SHERD COUNTS	MNV	% MNV
Blue transfer print	6	50	5	55.6
Green transfer print	1	8.3	1	11.1
Red transfer print	4	33.3	2	22.2
Black transfer print	1	8.33	1	11.1
Totals	12	100	9	100

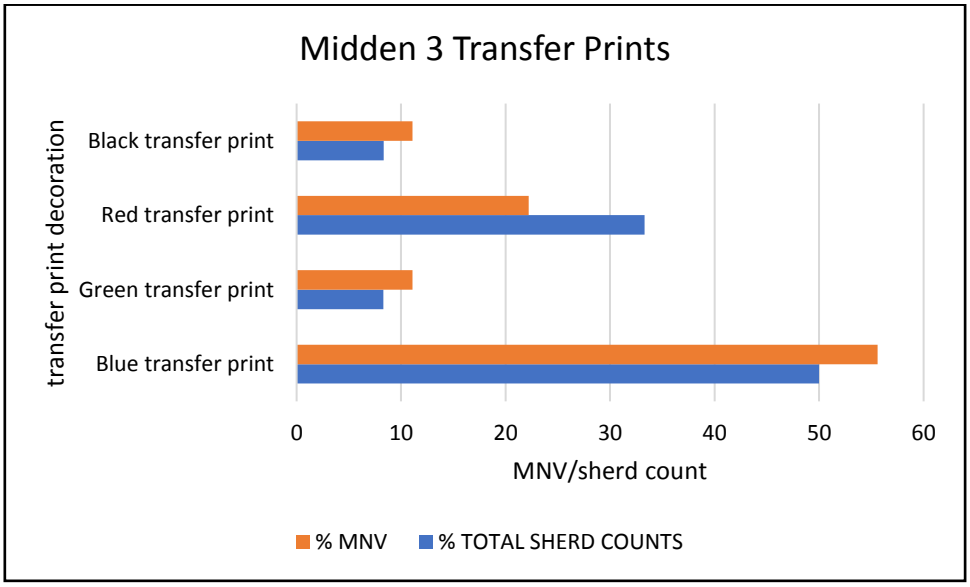

Figure 8. 3. Midden 3 Frequency of transfer printed vessels.

BLUE TRANSFER PRINT

The blue transfer prints are represented by the chinoiserie willow ware pattern and the flow blue pheasant's pattern (Figs 8.4a and 8.4b). The chinoiserie pattern has a peak production range between 1793 and 1868 (Samford 1997), and the Asian Pheasants fall under the exotic pattern decoration type, and they have a peak production range also between 1781 and 1868 (Samford 1997). The fragmentary nature of the sherds however makes it very difficult to identify form and function, but the foot rings have been useful in the identification process, for example, in Figure 8.4 a and b, the foot rings point to both vessels being flatware forms. Figure 8.4a shows that the decoration has started to peel off along with the glaze. This is possibly due to exposure to high temperature hot ash in the midden.

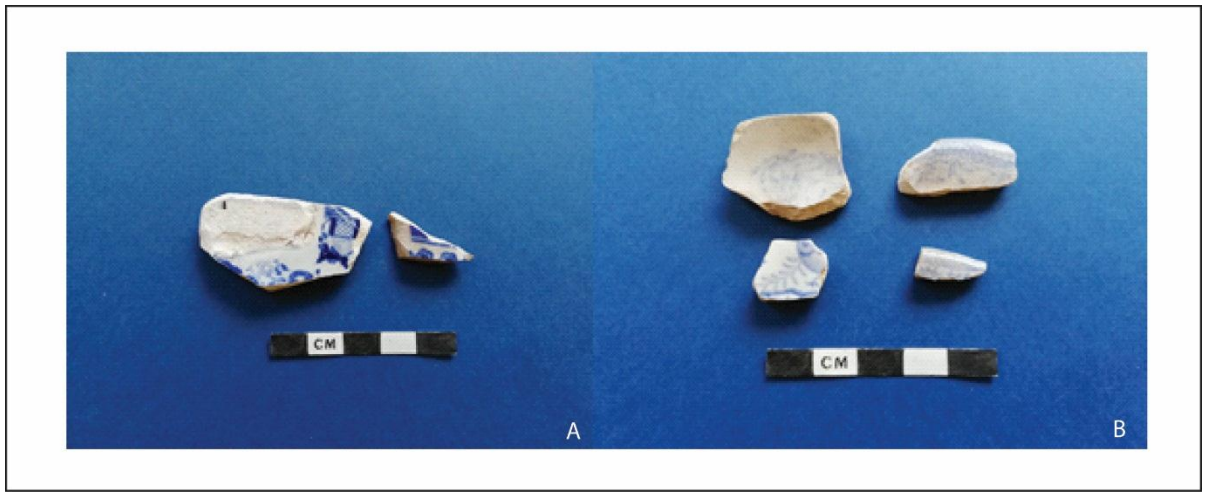

Figure 8. 4a. Willow ware chinoiserie pattern midden 3. Figure 8.4b. Flow blue pheasant pattern.

RED TRANSFER PRINT

Th red transfer print category is the second most popular category from midden 3 (Fig 8.3). The shape and curvature of these vessels, as well as the foot rings, suggests the majority are from bowls. The dominant pattern on this red transfer printed bowls is a floral design. Red transfer printed vessels were popular from 1818 up until 1880. There is also heat damage and brown discolouration of the floral design (Fig 8.5).

Figure 8. 5. Red floral transfer print bowl with peeling enamel.

GREEN AND BLACK TRANSFER PRINT

The green sherd from midden 3 has an ivy leaf decoration around the rim and the black transfer print vessel has a floral print over it.

PAINTED, SPONGED AND ANNULAR

The assemblage has a diversity of annular, sponged and painted wares. Collectively these categories make up over 25% of the MNV (Table 8.2).

PAINTED

The painted ceramics are decorated with thick bands (Fig 8.6a) and thin bands (Fig 8.6b). The thick banded designs are mostly towards the base of bowls and the thin bands were on the rims of plates.

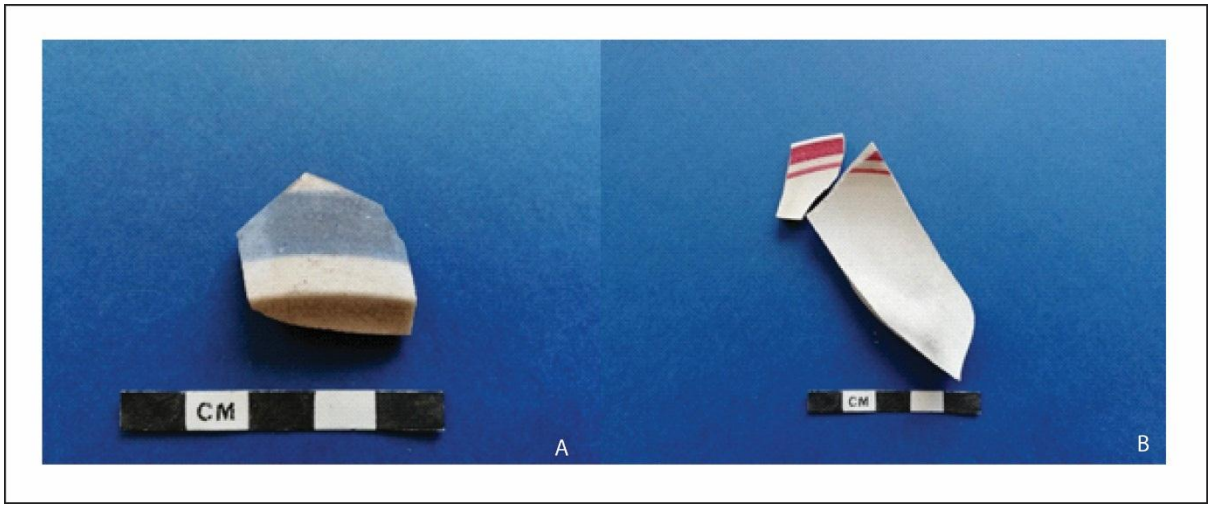

Figure 8. 6a. Thick band painted around bowl. Figure 8.6b. Painted lined plate.

The other painted sherds are decorated with polychrome floral scenes (Figs 8.7a and 8.7b).

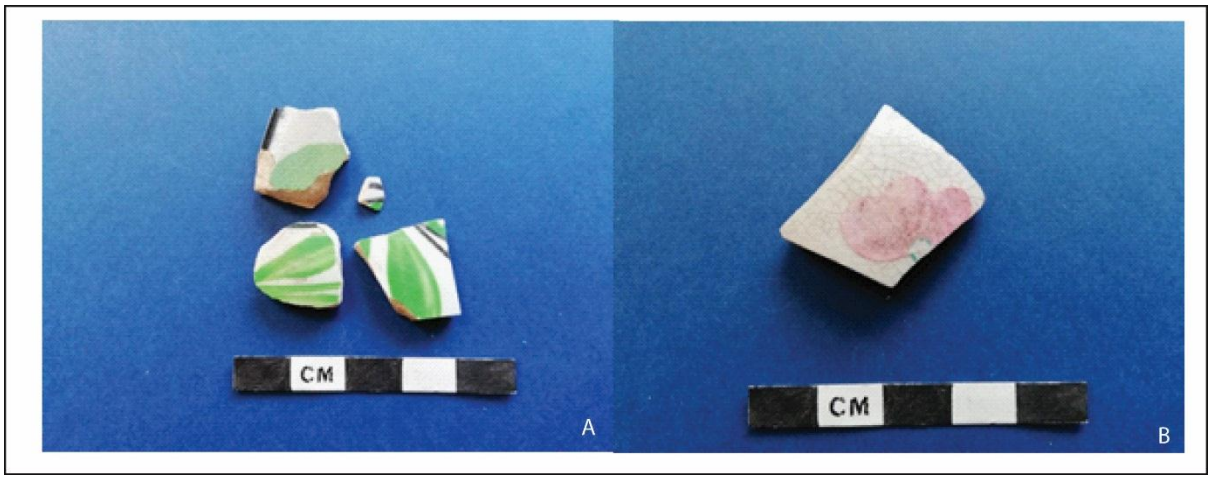

Figure 8. 7a. Fragments of a painted bowl with leafy green motif. Figure 8.7b. Painted bowl with pink flower motif.

PAINTED AND SPONGED

Some sherds combine both painted and sponged motifs. The dominant motifs are floral with thin and thick painted bands around some of the fragments (Figs 8.8a, 8.8b and 8.8c). Figure 8.8c has a pink cut sponge design with a pink painted line bowl.

Figure 8. 8a**. Cut sponge and band painted bowl. Figure 8.8b. Painted and sponged bowl fragments. Figure 8.8c. Sponged and painted bowl with burn marks around the edge of the vessel.**

SPONGED

The sponged ceramics emphasise on brown/red, and blue colours (Figs 8.9a and 8.9b). The decoration is focused around the rim of the vessels. Figure 8.9a with the brown/red sponge has a glossy glaze over the sherd.

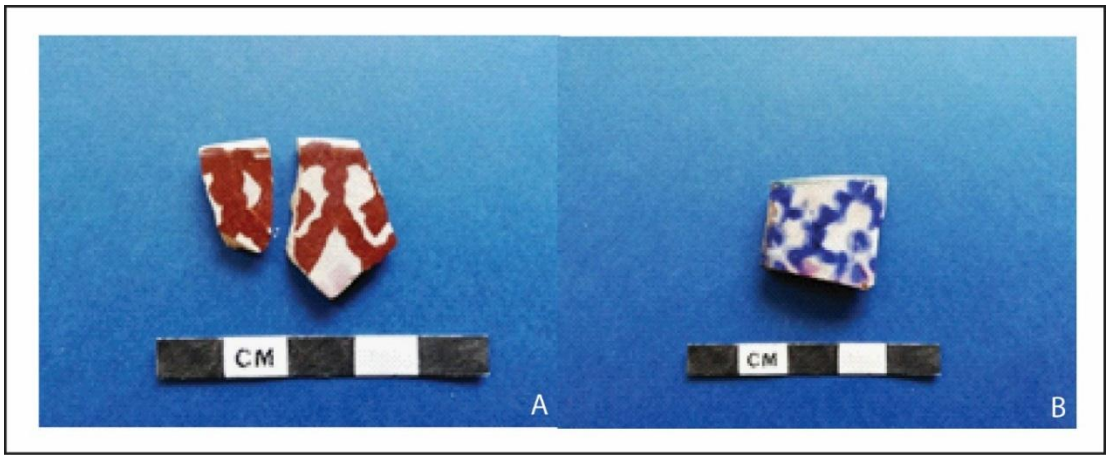

Figure 8. 9a. **Brown/red cut sponge.** **Figure 8.9b. Blue Cut sponge**.

SLIPWARE

The slipware in the assemblage has a variety of styles to the slip applied. Figures (8.10a, 8.10b and 8.11a & 11b) show the stylistic a diversity represented by the assemblage. There is a colourful array of earthy browns as well as a mix of whites, blacks and greens, and both wavy and straight bands.

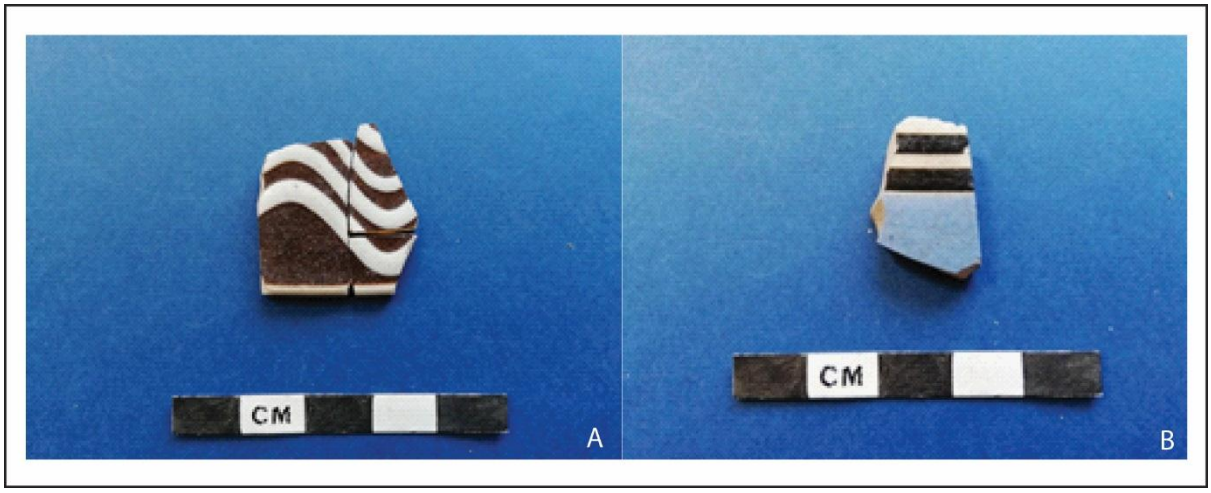

Figure 8. 10a. Slipware midden 3. **Figure 8.10b. Double slip fragment with dipped midden 3.**

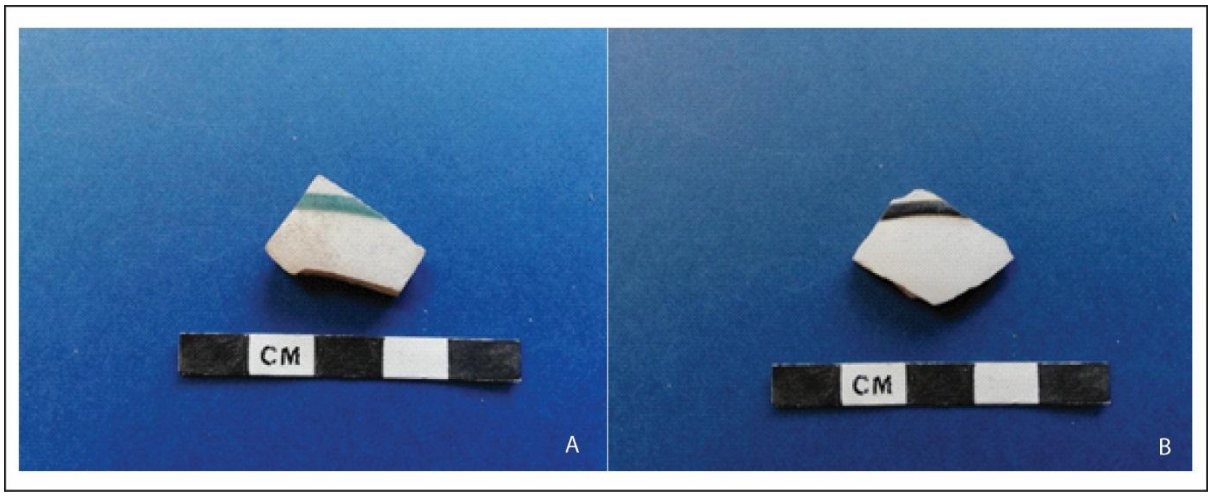

Figure 8. 11a. Green slipware fragment from midden 3. Figure 8.11b. Brown slipware fragment.

DIPPED OR OUTER DIP AND GLAZE

Midden 3 also has some fragments of half 'all-over-glaze' where the all over glaze is focused on the outside of the vessel. For example, in Figure 8.12 the bowl sherd is blue on the outside and white on the inside. The bright chrome blue points to an early 20th century date (Zachariou 2017).

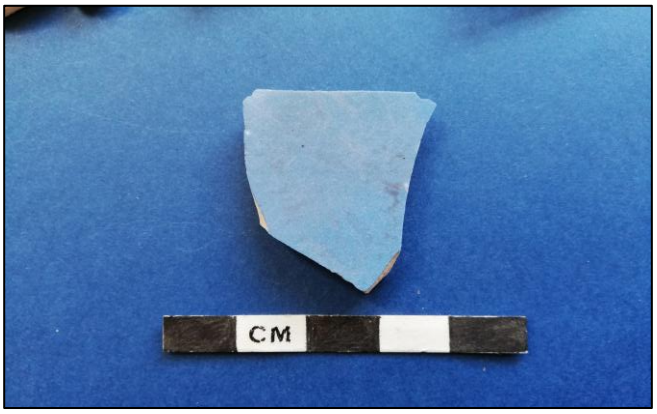

Figure 8. 12. Midden 3 Blue half 'all-over-body' glaze.

MOULDED BODY

The midden 3 assemblage also had a few fragments of moulded edge or moulded body ceramics. Figure 8.13 has a rushing or crimping mould on the rim of the plate.

Figure 8. 13. **Midden 3 moulded whiteware vessel (are parts of the fragment that are peeling, this is also likely as a result of being exposed to high temperatures due to post depositional burning).**

PORCELAIN

European porcelain is the second most frequently occurring ware type in the assemblage (14.3 %) (Table 8.1; Figure 8.1).

EUROPEAN PORCELAIN

The majority of the European porcelain in the assemblage is undecorated (Fig 8.14), and most are tea cups and saucers.

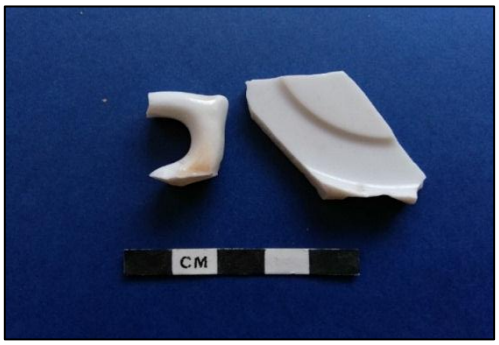

Figure 8. 14. Midden 3 Undecorated European porcelain teacup handle and a saucer.

Additionally, midden 3 has sherds of pink unglazed hard paste porcelain similar to a fragment found in midden 2 (Fig 8.15a & 8.15b). The fragment from midden 3 may be part of something ornamental or a toy. The fragment is painted with some green paint (Fig 8.15b). A similar sherd was found in midden 2 were one end is perforated, and I infer that rope or elastic was fed into the perforated end its function is very difficult to determine (Fig 8.15a).

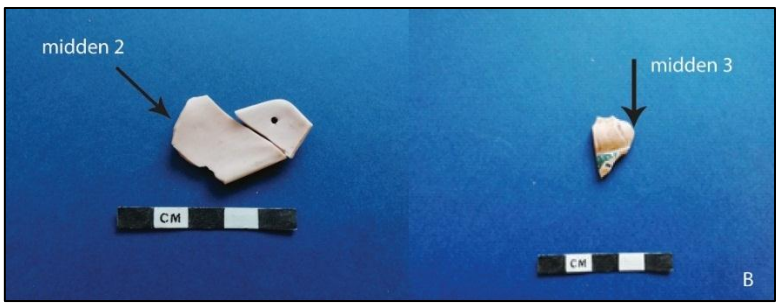

Figure 8. 15a Perforated unglazed pink porcelain midden 2 and 8.56b Pink and green painted pink unglazed porcelain midden 3.

One white European porcelain sherd, decorated with a blue painted scene and an over glaze, might be from something ornamental or a form of tableware (Fig 8.16).

Figure 8. 16. Painted porcelain figurine midden 3.

STONEWARE

The frequency of stoneware in the midden is low (Table 8.1). All of the stoneware is of European origin and is largely salt glazed and liquid glazed (Figs 8.17) and were either water jugs or ginger beer bottles dating to the late 19th and early 20th century (Lastovica 1999).

Figure 8. 17. Selection of stoneware fragments from midden 3

FORM AND FUNCTION

Ceramic form and function are detailed in Table 8.3. Tea ware is noted, there is a total of three European porcelain saucers and five teacups. Four pieces of European porcelain are from ornaments. The refined industrial earthenware sherds are from large and medium plates as well as small bowls (Table 8.3).

Table 8. 4. Form and function midden 3

FORM & POSSIBLE FUNCTION	ASIAN PORCELAIN	EUROPEAN PORCELAIN	REFINED INDUSTRIAL EARTHENWARE	STONEWARE	MNV TOTAL	%MNV
FOOD& DRINK STORAGE				4		
GINGER BEER BOTTLES						
					4	**7.1**
FOOD SERVING & CONSUMPTION						
PLATE 220-250MM			12			
PLATE LESS 190MM			7			
BOWL SMALL			21			
					40	**71.4**
DRINKING						
CUP		5				
SAUCER		3				
					8	**14.3**
OTHER						
ORNAMENTS		4				
					3	**7.1**
TOTALS		11	40	4	56	**100**

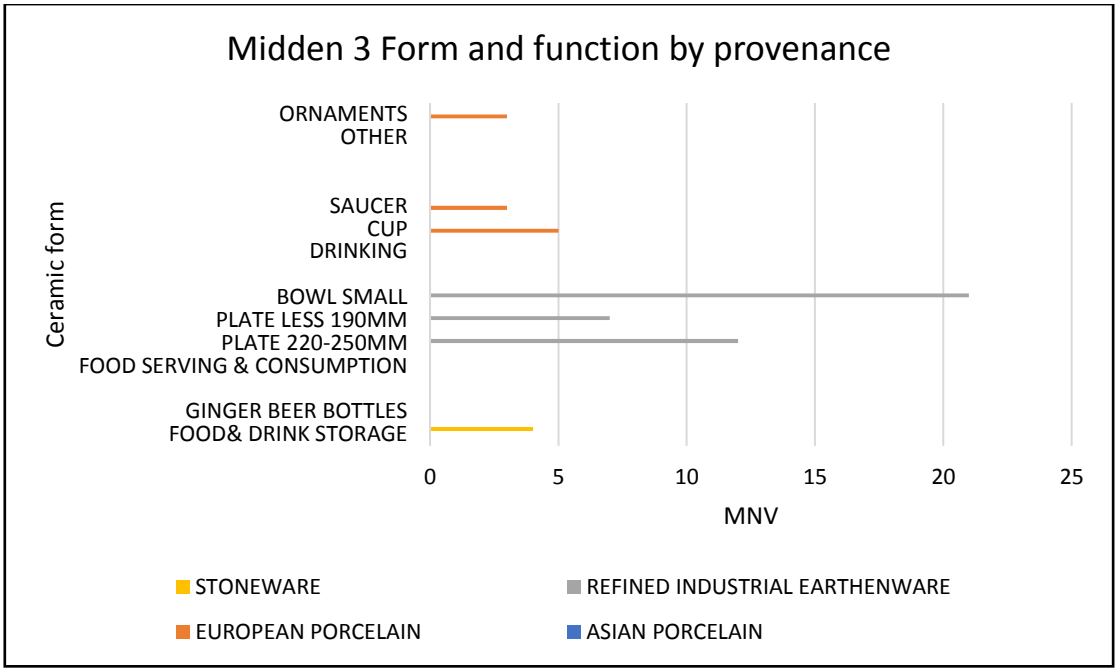

Figure 8. 18. Midden 3 form and function MNV.

The assemblage has significantly more plates than bowls (Table 8.3 and Fig 8.18). Additionally, the European porcelain tea ware makes up 14.3% of the assemblage and some stoneware ginger beer bottles make up 7.1% of the assemblage. Plates and bowls used for food serving and consumption make up the bulk of the assemblages MNV at 71.4% (Table 8.4 and Fig 8.19). Significantly, midden 3 yielded some ornaments, which were either decorative or some which were a form of tableware 3 (see Figs 8.15a, 8.15b and 8.16). The assemblage has a narrower representative sample of ceramics in contrast to midden 2.

Table 8. 5. Flatware versus hollowware.

TYPE	FLAT WARE	HOLLOW WARE	OTHER	TOTALS
MNV	19	26	7	56
MNV%	37	50	13	100

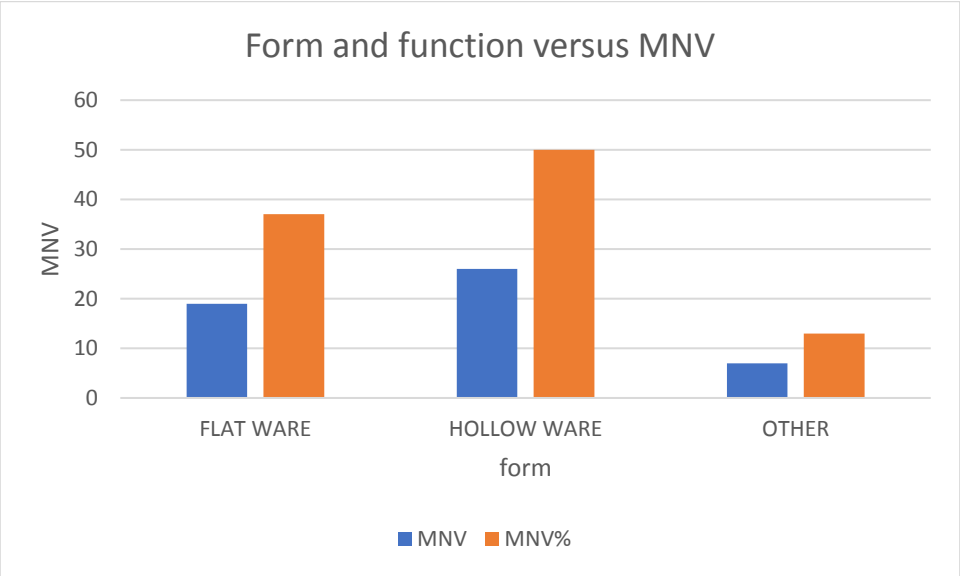

Figure 8. 19. Midden 3 Form and Function.

MIDDEN 3 GLASS ANALYSIS

The glass from midden 3 offers interesting dating opportunities. It further can give important insight on the economic means of the occupants. The glass was classified by colour and the diagnostic features such as the lip, base, neck and makers mark to establish the MNV (see Chapter 6 Methodology Introduction).

Table 8. 6. Midden 3 colour classification

COLOUR	MNV	MNV %
Clear	22	43.1
Blue	4	7.8
Dark Green	13	25.5
Solarised glass (purple)	5	9.8
Brown	7	13.7
TOTAL	**51**	100

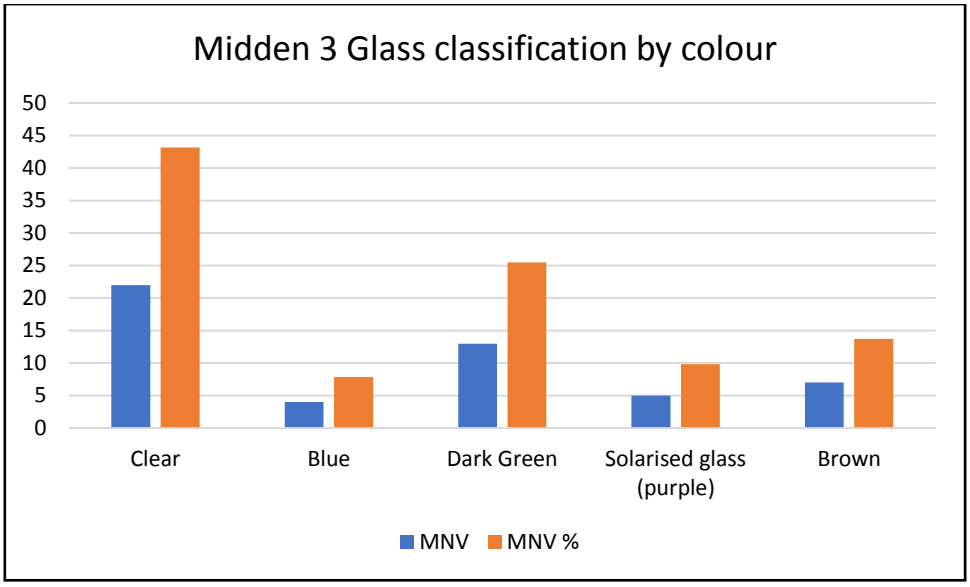

Figure 8. 20. Midden 3 Glass classification by colour

The clear glass makes up the bulk of the assemblage (43.1%, Table 8.5) followed by dark green glass (25.5 %) and brown glass (13.7%). The blue glass and purple solarised glass make up the remainder (Table 8.5 and Fig 8.20). The clear glass was largely made up of apothecary type containers as well as carbonated drinks and some tableware. The glass was then further subdivided by form and function (Table 8.6 and Fig 8.21). The midden yielded a higher frequency of toiletry and apothecary vessels in comparison to the other types. The midden also has moulded tableware. Tableware is largely ornamental and used as salt containers or for the purpose of dressing the table.

Table 8. 7. FORM AND FUNCTION MIDDEN 3

FORM AND FUNCTION	FOOD AND BEVERAGE	TOILETRY AND APOTHECARY	TABLEWARE	MISCELLANEOUS	TOTALS
MNV	19	30	1	1	51
% MNV	37	59	2	2	100

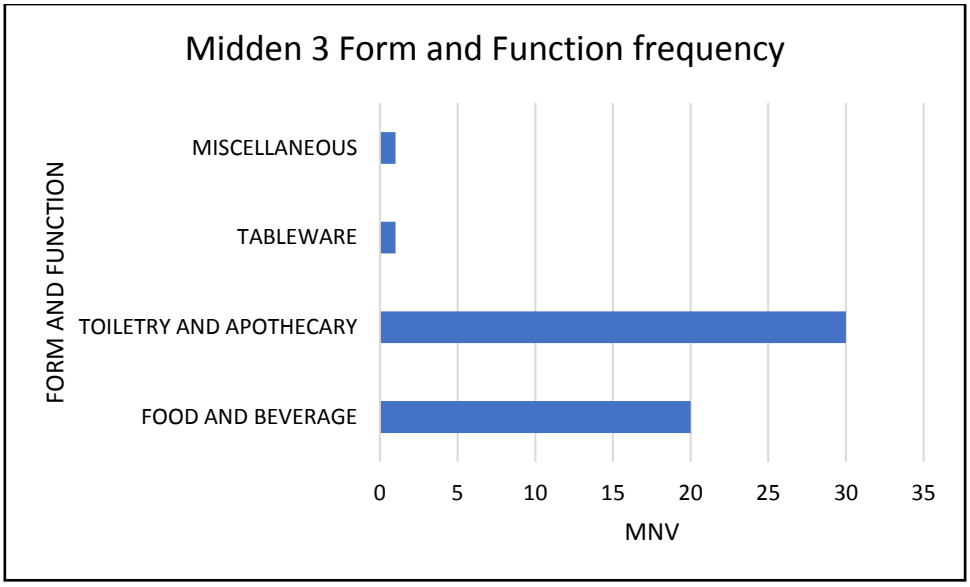

Figure 8. 21. Frequency form and function midden 3

MEDICINAL AND TOILETARY BOTTLES

The toiletry and apothecary type glass make up over 50% of the assemblage. The majority of the glass associated with this category has patent and prescription lips (Fig 8.22) as well as one vessel which has a thread lip and it was likely a container for a pomade or cream (Fig 8.23). The prescription lip finish is the "most common druggist, drug store and prescription bottle between the mid-1870s and the early 1920s. This style was also common in poison and medicine bottles" (https://sha.org/bottle/finishstyles.htm#Brandy%20or%20Wine). The assemblage also has a flanged lip whose manufacture date is from the 1830s up until the 1850s+ (Fig 8.23).

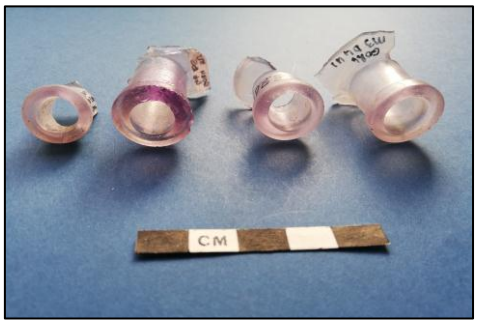

Figure 8. 22. Midden 3 Clear glass with prescription and patent lips.

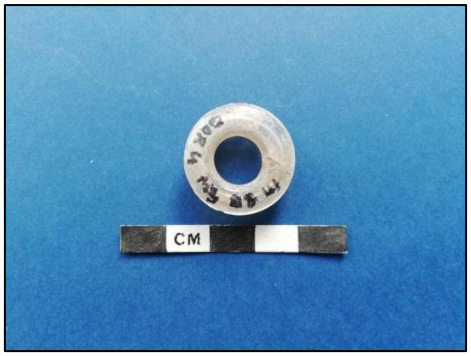

Figure 8. 23. Clear glass flanged lip.

There is an additional range of design types associated with the clear glass and medicinal glass ware category, primarily the square and rectangular base vessels with chamfered corners (Fig 8.24) or the rectangular recessed panels with recessed chamfered corners. The chamfered heels were also popular from the second half of the 19th century well into the 20th century (Jones et.al 1985: 85). Additionally, the assemblage also had a true octagonal based bottle (Fig 8.25). The chamfered and true octagonal bases were popular from the mid-late 19th century and into the early 20th century and they stored creams and oils (Jones et.al 1985). The only vessels associated with tableware in both middens either have stippled moulding and grooves on their bases or they are embossed with flowers (Fig 8.26).

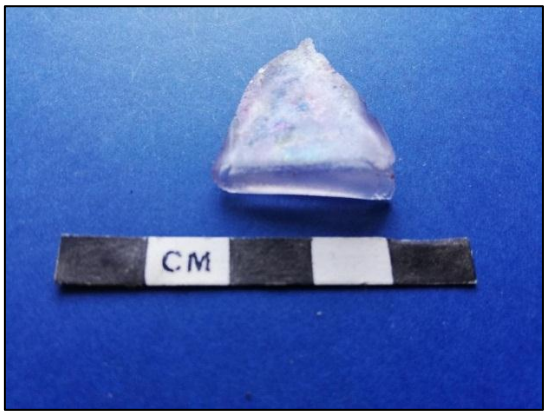

Figure 8. 24. Chamfered heel

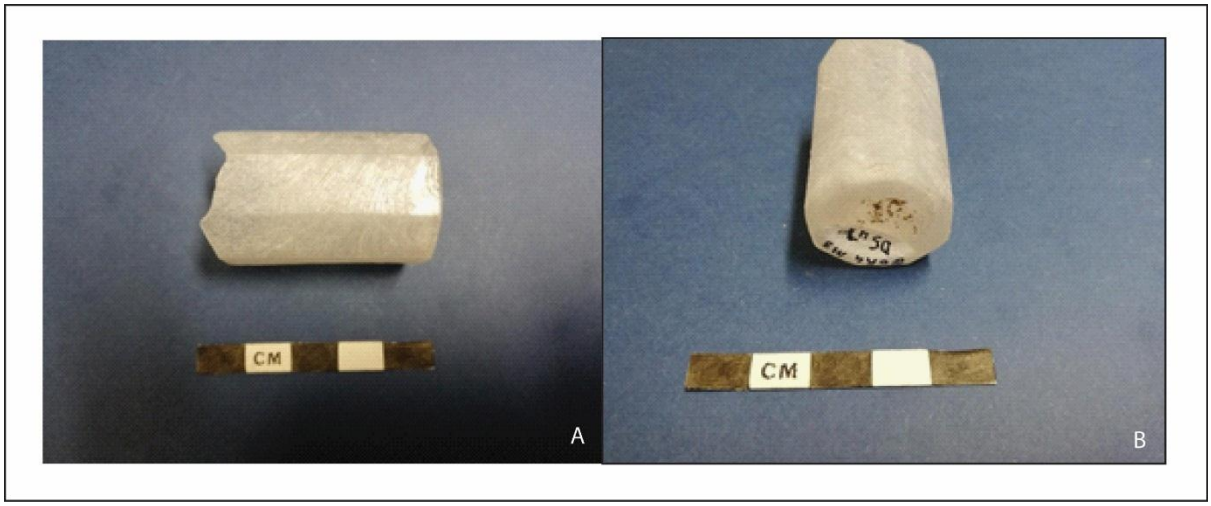

Figure 8. 25. True Octagonal base.

Figure 8. 26. Table ware moulded clear glass

BROWN AND GREEN GLASS

The brown and green glass in the assemblage is largely associated with beer and wine bottles (Figs 8.27 and 8.28). The green and brown glass in Figure 8.28 is embossed with the South African Breweries makers mark and it can be dated to the late 19th century. Additionally, the lips of dark green glass survived better than the light green glass and the clear glass. The dark green glass is much thicker than the light green and the clear glass. The dark green glass is largely associated with wine bottles and entirely expected in this later 19th century context (Figure 8.28).

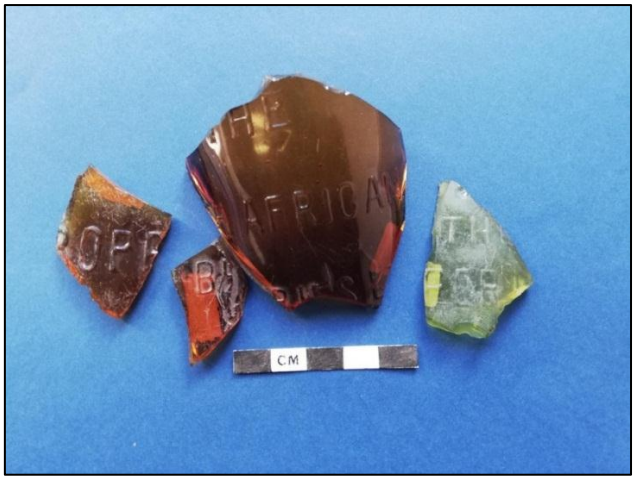

Figure 8. 27. South African breweries green and brown glass.

Figure 8. 28. Selection of lips from midden 3.

The glass lips in Fig 8.28 are all machine made, and have an applied double collar the application of the double colour came about in the late 1860s.Bottle A in Fig 8.28 is a green crown top, was patented by William Painter in 1892 (https://sha.org/bottle/closures.htm#Crown%20cap) . Bottle B has an applied taper and this innovation dates from the 1840s up to the 1870s. The bottles seen in Figure 8.28 are all associated with beverage consumption. Bottles C and D have brandy, whisky or wine lip finishes (https://sha.org/bottle/finishstyles.htm#Brandy%20or%20Wine) and their manufacture dates between the1860s and the 1920s.

METAL

The metal from midden 3 was grouped into diagnostic and adiagnostic pieces and diagnostic features were then placed into categories that best represent their possible function (Table 8.7 and Figure 8.29). As with the metal from midden 2, although pieces clearly have diagnostic features, they come from composite artefacts and identifying function is difficult.

Table 8. 8. Midden 3 diagnostic pieces

TYPE	METAL PIECES NUMBER	% PIECES
Wires	7	17.9
Tin sheets	2	5.1
Spikes	2	5.1
Indeterminant Rod	4	10.3
Ornamental	2	5.1
(Diagnostic pieces with a-diagnostic functions)		
Fasteners:		
Studs	4	10.3
Clothing	1	2.6
Wire mesh	2	5.1
Musical Instrument	3	7.7
(Mouth Organ/ Harmonica?)		
Recycled Tin	2	5.1
(Circular cut tin)		
(Rectangular cut tin)		
Alloy Container	2	5.1
Bullets:		
Westley Richards	1	2.6
Martini Henry	4	10.3
Lee Metford	3	7.7
TOTALS	39	100

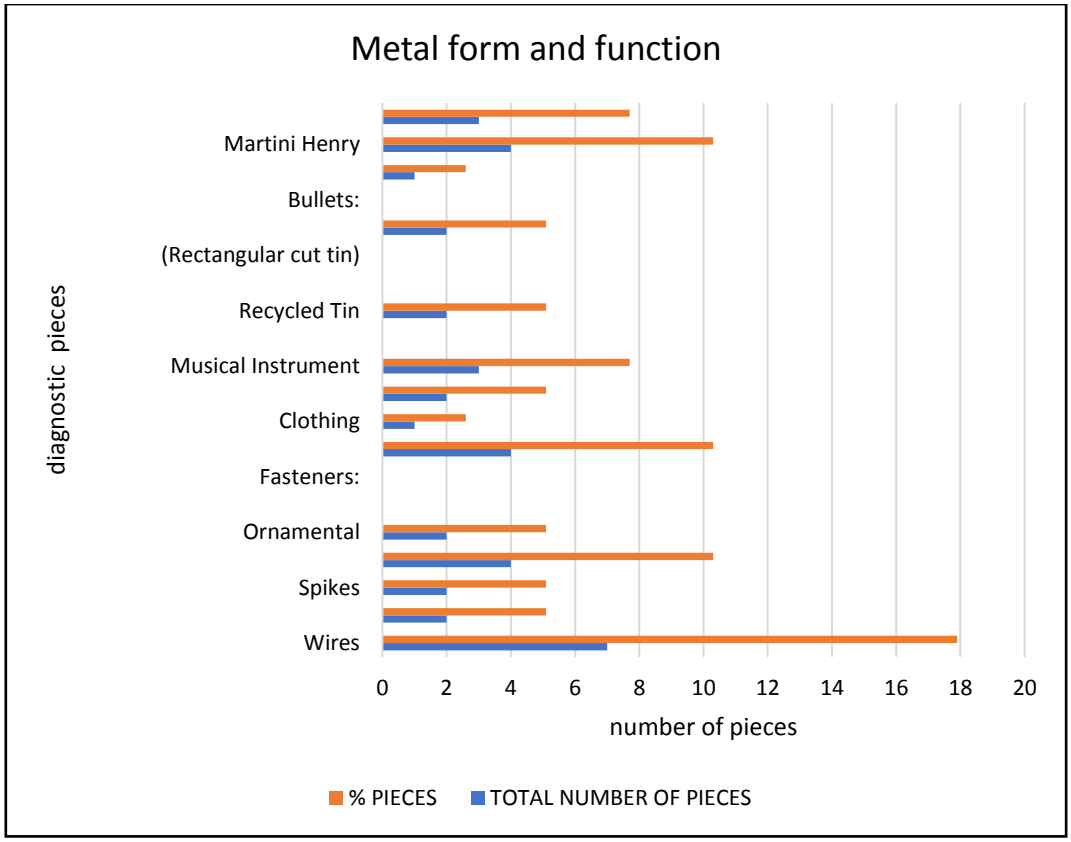

Figure 8. 29. Midden 3 Diagnostic metal and % diagnostic metal types.

The assemblage has a high frequency of wire which makes up just over 17.9% of the assemblage (Table 8.7). The wire in the assemblage, offers some opportunities for establishing a chronology. The rural enclosure movement took full steam from the 1870s and the fencing act was passed in 1880 and fully implemented in 1913 with a move to subsidize the cost of implementing the fences. The gauges from the assemblage were measured however, the measurements were not useful in establishing a chronology. The array of metal, as with midden 2, may be more linked to a working werf and farm labour activities as well as some general household functions and personal clothing related fasteners (Fig 8.30a).

There are also fragments of repurposed tin and alloy as well as a delicate alloy piece which could be from some small clockwork toy or ornament. Whatever the case, it is clearly one piece of a larger composite item (Fig 8.30 b). Additionally, there are some fragments of

crimped and cut tin with perforations (Fig 8.31a &b) and interesting alloys which seem to have been crimped, crushed or cut with the purpose of reuse (Fig 8.32a & Fig 8.23b).

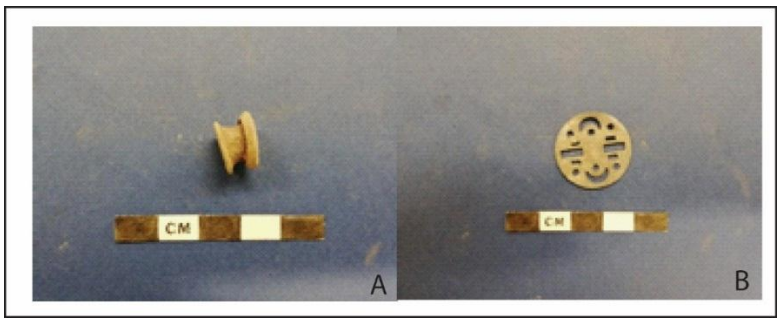

Figure 8. 30a. Ornamental piece from midden 3. Figure 8.30b. Fastener midden 3.

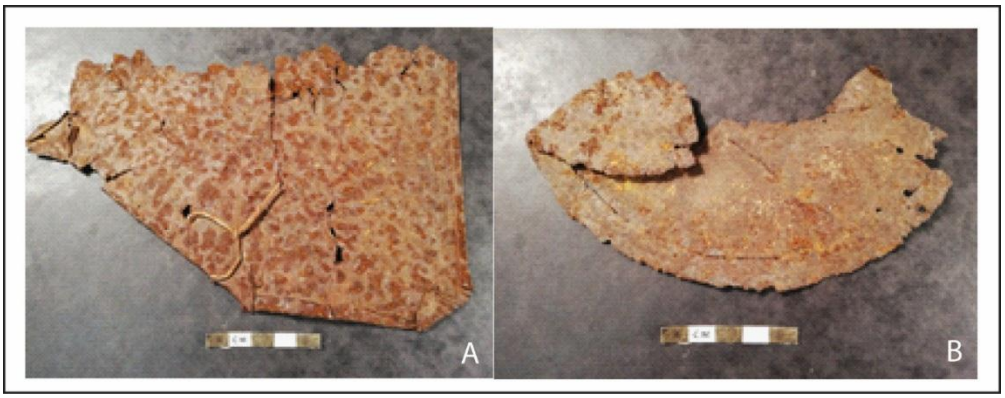

Figure 8. 31a. Perforated and cut tin can/bucket? Figure 8.31b cut and perforated circular tin base?

Figure 8. 32a. Crushed alloy container. Figure 8.32bb cut/ modified alloy piece.

There are fragments of spikes which might have been used for securing a structures or other activities as well as hook like fasteners (Fig 8.33 and Fig 8.34a/b). There is as a variety of other home and farmyard (see Appendix E for the Gorras III metal assemblage).

Figure 8. 33. Spike

Figure 8. 34a & b. Selection of hooks from midden 3.

The harmonica is represented by pieces of the reed plate, and are commonly found on Karoo farm ash middens dating from the 1860s. Harmonicas were mass produced in Europe, for example by Hohner, and from the 1850s they were mass produced, cheap to buy, and were a global export (Fig 8.35) (Berghoff 2001; see also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harmonica).

Figure 8. 35. Harmonica reed plate.

FAUNA

A qualitative observation of the fauna was conducted, and it all belongs to Bovid II and are sheep. There are also some segments of tortoise carapace. However, the sheep is the dominant species. As with the midden 2 bone, the midden 3 bone is also heavily burnt due to post-depositional burning through the discard of hot ash and burning embers, and not from cooking. On the burning colour code index, the bone in the sample has pure white shades which would categorise the bone as stage 5 or 6 and highly calcinated which is a highly advanced stage of burning (see Stiner et.al 1995).

SMALL FINDS: MIDDEN 3

The assemblage also has a few fragments of ostrich eggshell (OES). Some of the fragments had some post-depositional burning similar to the burning on the fauna. There was one ostrich egg-shell bead collected from the surface pick-ups. The assemblage also has an array of blue and white beads as well as four-hole and two-hole buttons, some are made from plastic and the others are handmade as well as a slab of rock that has been rounded and could possibly have been part of a game piece (Figure 8.36).

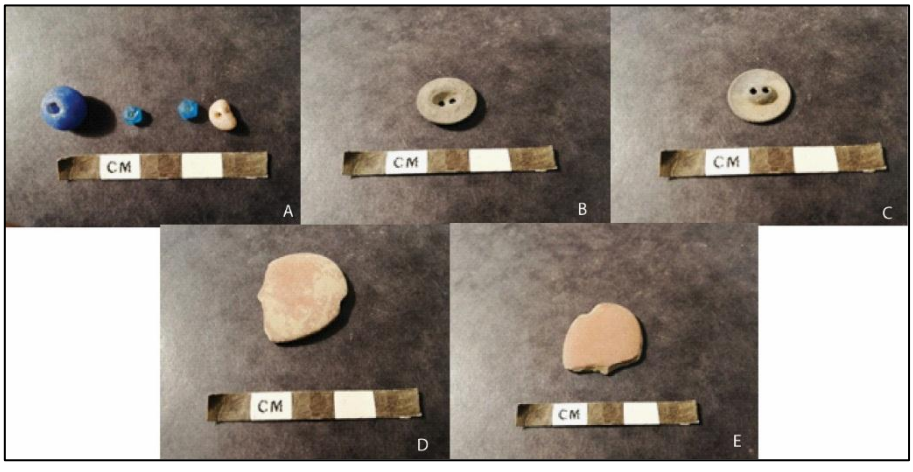

Figure 8. 36. Selection of small finds from middens 2 and 3.

DISCUSSION OF GORRAS IV AND GORRAS III MIDDENS 2 AND 3

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight have described the excavated material from the middens associated with Gorras IV and the Gorras III middens 2 and 3. The preceding chapters (three, four and five) started the discussion framed around the concept of biography as it relates to the household occupants. The discussion that follow will compare the material complexion of middens 2 and 3 and then discuss Gorras IV as it compares to the Gorras III middens. The two middens are physically distinct, and the question arises as to why? One possibility is that they represent phases in the development of Gorras III as a household. It should be remembered that Gorras III had two rooms added to the original corbel structure, one identified as communal living space, and the other as a possible kitchen. The possible kitchen is on the eastern side of the building and the two middens are a little further to the east of the 'kitchen' entrance. This proximity may underpin a direct relationship between the 'kitchen' and the middens. Furthermore, midden 3, which is further away, may indicate a shift because midden 2 was too close to the kitchen, or had become too big, and consequently the dumping was moved further out.

MIDDENS 2 AND 3

The general character of the ceramic assemblages from each midden is fundamentally the same. The percentages of refined earthenware within the ceramics are pretty much the same. Furthermore, there are no differences in the types of refined earthenware that indicates any significant chronological differences between the two middens. Within the REW category there are a range of decoration types and these occur in both middens. The variability in decoration types is also fundamentally the same. Blue transfer ceramics dominate the colour 'preference' followed by green transfer printed ceramics. The same applies to the European porcelain. The frequency presence is very similar between the two middens and there are also

no chronological implications that can be drawn from this ceramic type. While the presence of a similar range of ceramics in the two middens is apparent what is notable is that there may be differences in the quantities of certain types between the two middens. This may apply to some of the refined earthenware categories but in particular there is a significantly higher number of European Porcelain pieces in midden 2 compared to midden 3. It is quite clear from the analyses that the majority of European porcelain from both middens 2 and 3 are teacups and tea saucers (17 cups and 13 saucers in midden 2 compared to 5 and 3 in midden 3). This hints that any differences between midden 2 and 3 is not so much in differences in the range of ceramic types but the quantity of specific types. At face value, the higher number of teacups and saucers in midden 2 imply a greater focus on the materiality of tea drinking and potentially the social implications of this. As Margot Winer has argued for the 1820 Settler context in the Eastern Cape, the profile of tea drinking potentially reflects upon the social workings within a household, particularly the arrangements between women who gather to socialize, but in this context, the formal use of matched tea ware is important (Winer 1997; see also Winner & Deetz 1990).

There is a hint here that the same dynamics are in operation at Gorras III. The tea ware is clearly not from what would be called a formal matched tea set or service but nevertheless underpins tea drinking in a more formal sense. In this regard the high frequency of REW bowls in both middens (slightly higher in midden 2), could indicate the informal mode of tea drinking (see Zachariou 2017). The high frequency of bowls in midden 3, when compared to the low frequency of teacups and saucers in the same midden, might hint that the 'institution' of tea drinking was less formal during the period when midden 3 was formed. Additionally, it is notable that the only evidence of a tea pot also comes from midden 2 and may correlate with the higher frequency of cups and saucers also recovered from midden 2. At this point it

is worth pausing and return to the question posed above, that there might be a chronological progression from midden 2 (older) to midden 3 (younger). However, if it is assumed that the much higher material presence of tea ware in midden 2 implies increased formal domestic practice, and in turn is underpinned by economic (and social standing), and that this status increases through time, then the implication is midden 3 may be the older midden and 2 more recent. If this is the case the trend hinted at is a progression in status change from midden 3 to midden 2 and the proximity of midden 2 to the kitchen actually reflects this. The assumption that midden 3 would be the more recent, may not be correct. Lastly, the presence of teacups and saucers, quite simply indicates the means to purchase tea, an exotic imported commodity, and furthermore, also the means either to travel into either Williston or Carnarvon to do this.

A return to the REW ceramics indicates that the number of large plates in midden 2 (34) compared to midden 3 (12) is significantly different. While the presence of a higher number of large plates in midden 2 does not necessarily indicate that it reflects the presence of matched dinner services, (the range of different coloured transfer printed plates would argue against this), it may suggest that frequency of large plate use was much higher accounting for more breakage. This in turn may be also hint at a greater emphasis on foodways that broadly, required a table, individual settings and all the other material needed to support a communal meal structured around the basic focus of a table. When other items from midden 2 are considered, these suggestions may carry more weight. In addition to the plate issue, there is also a hint that ceramic vessels for serving food are apparent in midden 2 but not in midden 3.

This discussion has been developed from the perspective of serving food and the spatial and domestic infrastructure needed to support the nature of this serving. When attention is given to the actual cooking process, further distinctions in the presence/absence of artefacts

between middens 2 and 3 add to the discussion of the domestic sequence at Gorras III. Caste iron cooking pots and enamel baking trays were recovered from midden 2 but nothing of this type were found in midden 3. At face value the presence of these cooking vessels could point to the presence of a stove that in the style of the late 19th and early 20th century, would have had an internal oven with hot plates on the top. When this distinction is added to the material differences highlighted above, it further bolsters a trend from midden 3 to midden 2 in a household in which a 'formal' interior kitchen was fitted out in a way that supported the cooking and serving of food in a 'formal' eating space, which is the room addition added to the front of the corbelled structure. The presence of a stove and the increased regulation over cooking temperatures it implies, and the kinds of meals that could be cooked, turns attention to the type of fuel being used, that in turn takes us back to a prominent feature of both middens.

As noted above, the bone in both middens was subject to high temperatures and consequently has been significantly burnt and charred. It has been suggested that this resulted from the dumping of hot ash and embers onto the middens. The bone was burnt in the midden, therefore, and not a result of cooking it. Additionally, the character of the deposit in both middens is consistently a dark almost black ash. A caste iron stove could have either been wood or coal burning. There is no evidence of coal or the waste products of coal and if there was a stove, the use of wood must have provided the fuel. Given that the Karoo is without trees, the implication is that either wood lots had been grown on the farm by the time both middens 3 and 2 formed, or either, that wood was supplied/purchased from Carnarvon or Williston. Whatever the case, the combination of both the dark ash and the burnt bone is similar in both middens and, on the basis of the suggestions developed here, both middens formed after the 'kitchen' had been added to the eastern side of the corbelled structure. This,

however, does not necessarily undermine the increase in domestic artefacts to do with cooking and serving food from midden 3 to midden 2, discussed above.

The frequency of glass types between the two middens is similar. Alcohol consumption is indicated throughout through the presence of wine bottles and some beer bottles. The frequency of bottles is difficult to assess, given that they may have been returned, or collected for recycling (refilling) by suppliers. The glass classified as toilet and/or apothecary bottles is also consistent through both middens and is present in high numbers to suggest that it was consistently purchased. These bottles may have been used as medicinal carriers or as containers for lotions, elixirs and creams for beauty and personal care products. Some of the moulded and delicate type glass may have been used as perfume or fragrance containers.

Walker (1996) notes that most perfumers of the 19th century sold perfumes in relatively plain bottles and these could be decanted into the buyer's own bottle, through the 19th century coloured glass was extensively used for the production of scent bottles, the use of cased glass became even more popular throughout the 19th century and at times this glass was embellished with enamelling and gliding (bohemian glass). In the 20th century, "Francois Coty invited Rene Lalique to design, firstly, labels for scent bottles and, shortly after, new forms for the bottles themselves, which would complement the fragrance they contained" (Walker 1996:28). For example, figure 7.34 from midden 3 has a toiletry or apothecary bottle with a moulded diamond pattern body is likely a representation of this phenomenon, as perfumers of the 19th century followed the Coco Chanel trend of presenting elegance through the fragrance bottle design (Walker 1996:28). The midden 2 assemblage has a higher frequency of these moulded body types of glass which may have been used for feminine personal care products. Some of the moulded body blue glass may however, been

used for containing strong medicines or poisons used around the household. These types of perfume and moulded body types are not present in midden 3.

Additionally, these bottles, along with all the other materiality of Gorras III raises the issue of space, shelving cupboards to store and keep these items. This last point is relevant to a few items in midden 2 that are absent from midden 3. Two humble items in particular, potentially point to significant aspects of the spatiality of Gorras III and the internal dynamics of the household. These are the pieces of the decorative bed frame trellis that probably came from the head frame of the bed, and the front face piece of a medium sized padlock. At face value the bed frame pieces indicate sleeping arrangements and the presence of a bed or beds raises the issue of where they were located. The presence of these fragments in midden 2 again also hints at a progression in the structure of the Gorras III household from midden 3 to 2, but as discussed above, suggest that both the 'Kitchen' and the front room had already been added.

If the front room added an eating and living space to Gorras III, and its addition went hand-in-hand with the addition of the 'kitchen', then it would leave the original corbelled structure as the sleeping space for a bed. This would potentially have shifted the nature of the original corbelled structure from communal or all-round space, where sleeping probably was on the floor, perhaps to more private space, and the significant change to sleeping in a bed. This possibility draws the architectural sequence of Gorras III into the discussion, particularly the modification to the doorway. This modification significantly narrowed the width of the doorway, which in its original dimensions was overly wide. The decrease in doorway width brought it more in line with the original doorway width seen at Gorras I. One implication of narrowing the doorway width is to make it more practical to mount or secure a door, that in turn, would increase the privacy of the space. Additionally, this suggestion of privacy and it's

increasing compartmentalization, would make sense with the addition of the front room and both may have been added and modified at the same time. The narrowing of the doorway need not imply a doorway in the conventional sense, but simply made it easier to make a covering to secure the interior from an outside gaze.

The issue of privacy and the possibility that the original corbelled structure functionally shifted towards 'bedroom' draws the presence of the padlock into the discussion. Obviously, the padlock implies there is something to secure, either a door, a gate, a cupboard or a trunk. Whatever the case, it is potentially indicative of securing material value or social value. It potentially underpins and elaborates the discussion around the progression and development of the Gorras III household in which cooking, and domestic activity shifted from an exterior/interior 'binary' to one in which the nature of the Gorras III household shifted more towards a household as emphasizing interior living.

With respect to the chronological implications of the material it appears that midden 3 may be older and midden 2 is younger. However, the time difference appears to be very short and it could range to around two years to five years. What the difference suggests is that the occupants of the household had an increased purchasing power over time as represented by the two middens. Given the makers marks expressed by the ceramics and the glass the broad chronology for both middens would straddle the 1880s up until the 1930s. The implication is that the original corbelled house was built earlier, and does not rule out that it was built at the same time as Gorras I but the absence of it on the 1873 survey diagram suggests it was built after this date but before the chronology implied by the artefacts from middens 2 and 3. If so, then the conclusion is that there might be a part of the Gorras III sequence that is blurred and

we cannot yet see it clearly. I reiterate that this might be the case only if both middens 2 and 3 date to the period from and after the architectural additions were built.

The bullet casings present in both middens represent three different rifles. Given the relative distance from Gorras I it would suggest that their presence at Gorras III has very little to do with scavenging and that the occupants owned guns or had permission to use them on the farm. Equally, the complete absence of any obvious South African war insignia indicates that the sanger was never a source of material, as is implied for Gorras IV. The Gorras III material mix indicates independent purchase. This raises the issue of the stone wall kraals. While we cannot be categorical about the identity of the occupants as represented by middens 2 and 3, the relative abundance of sheep bone in both middens suggests that the occupants had ready access to these animals. Whether this implies that they independently owned sheep (Bywoner), or whether they had access to sheep in a more elevated social permission as farm foreman one cannot categorially say. Whatever the case, the issue is that the Jankowitz brother was probably not the occupant, neither from its original construction, and certainly not in the period represented by middens 2 and 3, and the two room additions. Overall, the indication is that Gorras III was a household that developed with a family that could purchase independently.

COMPARISON WITH GORRAS IV

In comparison there is less material from the Gorras IV midden when compared with Gorras III middens 2 and 3. While generally the same range of ceramic types and forms are present, the number of certain items is much lower. While REW plates are in the assemblage, when compared to both Gorras III middens 2 and 3 the REW the frequency is low. More telling is that there is very little European porcelain (1 cup and 4 saucers) and when compared to Gorras III would imply that the formality of tea drinking and serving others was muted at

Gorras IV. This is also implied by the low frequency of small bowls which were used for tea drinking (Zachariou 2017). The key issue underpinning the distinctions in the range and the quality of material culture between Gorras IV and Gorras III is that there is no architectural expansion of the basic Gorras IV corbelled structure. The Gorras III context provides the basis for discussing the material mix as an inseparable component of spatial change and household expansion. The same is not evident at Gorras IV.

PART THREE:

ECONOMIC MEANS, SOCIAL CLASS AND ASPIRATION

CHAPTER NINE

DISCUSSION

This thesis has assessed material culture from a corbelled house complex on Gorras farm in the Fraserburg region of the Northern Cape. Three domestic corbelled dwellings offer the opportunity to discuss a range of material culture in order to anchor and evaluate the relative consumption 'power' of landowner, farm lessee, bywoner (sharecropper) and farm workers. The identity of the occupants as lessee and landowners for Gorras I is known from documentary sources, but the economic and social identities of Gorras III and IV are only elliptically suggested. Consequently, the material culture is used to assess these economic and social possibilities. The available documentary evidence indicates that Gorras I was built between 1860 and 1873. The same may apply also to Gorras III and Gorras IV, though a date after 1873 is also possible. It is in this period that the region around Gorras was increasingly drawn into a developing national and global economy, the frontier closed with land ownership, and mass-produced British commodities became increasingly available within the rural economy.

\While the structures at Gorras were still in use up until the mid-1900s the main focus here is on the later 19th century and early 20th century occupation. The documentary evidence indicates that the leaseholder, JC Jankowitz, occupied Gorras I up until 1873, and then the first landowner, JK Van Wyk, used it and expanded it as a household. By contrast, it is supposed that Gorras IV and Gorras III were most likely used by labourers on the farm, and by a bywoner (sharecropper), respectively. Both the architectural sequence and the archaeological sequence have been examined in the context of this supposition: how these are related to the wider social and economic context of the late 19th century in the Karoo.

Architectural evidence has highlighted differences in the modifications to the structures which I argue support the supposition presented here.

With the British takeover of the Cape Colony in the early 19th century, and the 1820 Settler immigrant scheme to the Eastern Cape, the Cape economy progressively entered global markets especially through the merino wool production and export. Corbelled houses of the Karoo have been dated as having been built from the 1830s up until the late 19th century (Kramer 2012,2019; Smuts 2012; Hancock 2013,2018). This 1830 date is of particular interest because it correlates with changes introduced by the British colonial government in the land administration system when title deeds to secure land ownership started being issued. It is not unreasonable to infer that corbelled houses came about as a direct result of this change in the land tenure system, and before, people were likely living in temporary make-shift dwellings characteristic of nomadic pastoralism (see also Appendix B – Fig B.1 &2). Consequently, Trek Boers with capital to purchase farms, as well as a growing English rural presence, turned their attention to commercial wool production. The architecture, it appears, was a solution to building households in response to the practical issue of the absence of wood, and the high cost of bringing it in, and the suitability of the local stone for the technique of corbelling.

Additionally, it is suggested that this architectural form expressed a dwelling of pastoralism that, on the one hand, was appropriate to the cultural interactions of the open frontier, and on the other expressed a shift to household permanence with commercial pastoralism within the closure of farm boundaries. The correlation with the change in the British land tenure system reflects the start of both physical and cultural enclosure in which legislated boundaries and encouraged immovable dwelling that was still, however, based on the ‘old’ pastoral

architectural form. Furthermore, corbelled houses were not a universal Karoo dwelling form, but a vernacular and cosmological form that Karoo dwellers with direct experience of the open frontier and a memory of it that included indigenous Khoesan, European frontiersman, and especially Bastaards. As discussed in Chapters Three and Four, it is a dwelling type which straddled several worlds.

In the later 19th century Karoo communities are pulled into the fast industrialising world and capitalist systems. In this socio-economic context, we begin to see the alienation of objects, cosmologies and beliefs (Thomas 1995:39-40). Corbelled houses continue to be used as dwellings in this context, and more elaborate forms with rectangular base forms, and pitched corbelled roofs are built (Kramer 2012). Previous research (Kramer 2012, 2019 & Hancock 2013) suggest that the early 19th century corbelled structures may have been predominantly the dwellings of mixed-race Basters, but in the later 19th century, the evidence from Gorras indicates that it was an architecture of labourers, leaseholders, 'bywoners', and also owners of land. Whites without capital, Bastaards who may have had capital but were legally blocked, and people of direct Khoesan descent who were economically trapped as farm labourers. It is against this background that the corbelled houses used as dwellings after the 1860s have been explored. Irrespective of economic status, material mixes from the Gorras corbelled houses reflect the economic world opened up by the merino wool trade, ostrich feather production and the later opportunities opened up by the diamond and gold-rushes and mining. It is the assumption that material mixes, including the architectural, define social and economic hierarchies of rural dwelling.

LOCATION OF CORBELLED HOUSES AS A REFLECTION OF IDENTITY AND STATUS

On the Gorras farm landscape, there are three corbelled houses that are separated by varying degrees of spatial distance. The issue of social position and degree of economic independence of occupants has been discussed with reference to location. In this context, corbelled houses and their position on the landscape are signifiers of status, and social hierarchies between. In theoretical terms space and spatiality communicate individual and group positioning and as a consequence, power relations which effectively represent economic capital as it relates to cultural capital, social capital and symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1989). Thus, the space and objects one was able to acquire actively affects their social position and social mobility (see also Mullins 2011). As indicated by the documents, and the archaeology, there are three scales of marginality on Gorras expressed both architecturally and archaeologically. As noted above the documented biography of the farm records the earliest occupation of the farm was by the two Jankowitz brothers, Johan Diedrick Christoff and Johan Christian Jankowitz through a co-lease agreement from 1862 up until 1867. Following the cancellation of the co-lease agreement, JC Jankowitz continued to lease Gorras up until 1873 when he perhaps cancels it owing to economic constraints (CA LEER 4168). In 1873 a survey is completed on the farm and ownership is transferred to the Van Wyk family in 1878.

Given this information from the archive and the presence of the three domestic corbelled dwellings on the farm, the following relationship among the occupants has been sketched out: Gorras I, became the main werf and was built by the Jankowitz brothers, or for them, and provided their family dwelling up until 1873. Following their cancellation of the lease, the Van Wyks gained title of the farm, Gorras I was occupied by the Van Wyks, the new owners until such a time as the Victorian house was built. We do not know exactly when this happened but the late 1880s or early 1890s seems likely. The move of the Van Wyks from

Gorras I, into the Victorian house is clearly a critical shift in economic growth. We also do not know when Gorras III was built, 9km to the west of Gorras I. It is not marked on the 1873 survey map and this suggests it was built after this date. Additionally, Gorras III is structurally similar to Gorras I and was either built by Van Wyk, or at his direction to be used by a bywoner, or senior farm foreman. Gorras III is a prominent corbelled structure and its location is on the outskirts of the farm, where it borders Schuinshoogte and Tygerfontein farms to the west. Its size and the addition of two extra rooms follows a similar sequence of the additions to those at Gorras I. Similarly, Gorras IV was then also built after 1873, during the early years of the Van Wyk occupation to be used by a labourer family. The location of these structures around the farm speaks to the issues of dependence, independence and a social hierarchy as it applies to the position of landowner or lease holder, possible semi-independent bywoner and labourer.

Chapter Five outlined the architectural and stratigraphic sequence of the farm and pointed out the issue of distance as it relates to the three houses. Gorras I (lessee and then landowner) is located on the main werf and is at the centre of the farm's economic and social world. One important attribute of this status is the old main road that connected Williston with Fraserburg and intensified connections to the north when the wagon transport industry gains prominence during this period to service the diamond and gold rush from the late 1860s. Gorras I has three significant room extensions to it as well as modifications in the form of shelving and hooks which a house with objects and furnishings that needed storage and display.

Gorras IV is the smallest structure on the farm, and located 600 metres away from Gorras I. This proximity may suggest that it is an extension of the main Gorras I werf. It is modest and menial by comparison to both Gorras I, and Gorras III as is emphasised by the structure's size. Its proximity to Gorras I, the road and the dams underpins a direct relationship between the two. If location reflects social and economic position on the landscape, Gorras I occupies the prime position on the farm. It is located along the old wagon road connecting Fraserburg and Williston, and this gives the house direct proximity and access to trade and transport routes, and at the same time, it is located near two best dams and springs on the farm (see Appendix A&C).

Similarly, Gorras III is also located along an old wagon track that runs immediately to the west of the Gorras boundary. Despite the proximity of Gorras IV to the Williston and Carnarvon road, there is no access to the structure by wagon because it is on the northern side of the river and could only be accessed on foot. In terms of accessing trade and commerce and being connected to the economic world, wagons, carts, stagecoaches and later cars could drive to the front doors of Gorras I and Gorras III, but not to Gorras IV. The locations of Gorras I and Gorras III, therefore, speaks to their being actively part of formal nodes and networks through direct access to the main wagon road.

The importance of the road in the context of this farm and the other farms in this region which have corbelled houses cannot be over emphasised. It appears that in the context of this farm, and other farms such as Grootfontein and Banksfontein, the location of the main houses is generally adjacent or close to a road and not surprisingly, to large reliable bodies of water. A detailed survey of the remaining farms in this region is required to determine the frequency of this occurrence. However, this chosen proximity strongly indicates the self-sufficiency of

the farm and household as well as a need to be connected to the economic means of communication.

THE ROAD AND GORRAS I

The position of Gorras I requires further comment. It is located next to the best water sources on the farm, the old wagon road runs adjacent to this same drainage, which would have been practical for horse-drawn or ox-drawn wagons. Both the public road and the house are located strategically owing to the necessity of accessing water. The question of which came first is of interest but reaching definitive conclusions is unlikely. The 1873 survey map clearly shows that both Gorras I and the road were there prior to this date. Other maps note the prominence of springs and dams on other farms of this region which could be used as rest stops (M3/4741; M3/2015; M2/651; M3/2813). Additionally, qualitative examination of the farms by both Kramer (2012), and Smuts (2012) indicate the majority of farms with corbelled house structures seem to reproduce this pattern and this applies to other werfs without corbelled structures. This is also certainly the case for the farm Kerkplaats, examined by Zachariou (2017). It is also noted that none of the mission, and farmer domestic dwellings throughout the Kerkplaats sequence are corbelled structures. Here, the pre-1860 werf is located immediately adjacent to a powerful spring, and this location continues the later eighteenth century establishment of the London Missionary Society station on the same spot. However, after 1860, the main werf and main house is moved from the outskirts of the farm to a position adjacent to the main road connecting Fraserburg and Williston.

This established a direct relationship with the developing road transport system, and in the case of Gorras I, this relationship also underpins the economic potential of both the lessee and the landowner, living in a corbelled house, to use this road. This relationship is not

unexpected because these households were newcomers in their attempt to develop their farms and personal household finance in the context of a developing capitalist society. These households had to develop opportunities and weather fluctuating wool and ostrich feather prices and quite simply, when they had produced for the market, they had to get it out efficiently. This is obvious, but important correlation between the road and Gorras I, may suggest the location of Gorras III follows the same pattern as Gorras I, and that a deeper time track was in place and the structure was then built in close proximity to it. It is circumstantial, but this similarity may suggest independent farm production, and while the location of Gorras III may reflect independence, it is safe to say that the occupants were not landowners.

This discussion of the Gorras I and III corbelled houses and their strategic location in relation to roads and track for wagons and carts, focuses on the dynamics of movement through the landscape and an implied economic and social hierarchy (see Snead et.al 2009:3). The contrast with Gorras IV, where the scale of movement on the immediate landscape in relation to this dwelling node was access only by foot, makes this hierarchy more explicit.
In terms of political economy, the use of roads, tracks and paths in discussing Gorras farm and the relationship between the built environment and the economic capacity of occupants is essential to understanding how the local intersected with the regional, national and global economies at the time. At Gorras the relationship between dwellings and paths, trails and roads has to do with economic and political self-sufficiency, and their establishment and use as a process that aspired to and established hegemony and control within the boundaries of the farm and between the farm and the wider region.

While some of these tracks and paths may have much older frontier histories, their depiction upon title deed and military maps from the 1870s reflects a new order of political and

economic change. The contrast with these new landscapes of movement in the context of a closing frontier is particularly relevant to the 19th century Cape Colony, when indigenous groups are alienated from the land, and their movement on the landscape is curtailed and controlled. In this regard the simple observation that Gorras IV was a dwelling that could only be accessed on foot, is important. While the main Williston to Carnarvon road was only 200 metres to the south, the implication is the occupants had little capacity to use it and that their access to it was linked to the objectives of the main werf. Consequently, "paths would have linked settlements and monuments and thus, played a critical role in how these places were approached., effectively creating a narrative space of experience" (Snead et.al 2009:14). The experience of the working class, reasonably assumed for Gorras IV versus the land owning (Gorras I), and land managing bywoner status inferred for Gorras III, is reflected in the fabric of spatial organisation on Gorras.

While these roads and paths might have held for farm labourers memories of space and landscape and cultural practice within it, by the 19th century, the road symbolised access to places of employment for people of Khoesan ancestry and some European descendant communities, as well as signalling spaces and places to which they do not have access. By contrast, the road represented opportunity for the Gorras I household and potentially for Gorras III also. The road at first represents economic connectivity, but additionally it is 'militarised' by the end of the 19th century during the South African war.

In thinking about the phenomenological aspects of roads, trails and paths and the Gorras nodes they connect, the earlier discussion introduced how spaces and places can become psychological indicators of the significance of people. The road in the case of Gorras does not merely symbolise the farm and the region's economic relationship with the Cape and

the diamond and gold mining fields, but also represents the complex relationships of disenfranchisement, othering and poverty. On Gorras and the wider region, paths and roads between the structures, "form an essential medium for the routing of social relations" (Tilley 1994:31, 2004), that are also represented in the proximity of the structures to each other. Obviously, the issue of economic capacity, as seen through the architectural development of these structures and the things they used and discarded provide a means to elaborate or moderate this discussion.

The structure and intention of roads clearly bolstered and realised the economic potential of Gorras I after 1873, as it channelled people and goods. The presence of the road running though Gorras I obviously drew the farm and its production into the global economy. While this is specifically the case for the occupants of Gorras I, it is less certain for Gorras III, whose position is more marginal compared to Gorras I. As noted, Gorras IV, while it is clearly close to the Williston and Carnarvon road, does not access it, and the position of Gorras IV, it is suggested, reflects only a working and subservient relationship to Gorras I. The physical proximity of these structures to roads works for the social and economic mobility of some, but not others.

Lastly, the intersection of the local with the global is particularly evident in the farm's involvement in the South African war and the way in which the road is 're-empowered' once the region is militarised. British interest in the farm and the presence of the block house on top of the hill is not a coincidence, since Gorras farm and the main corbelled house, and by 1898, also the Victorian house were located on the old main road. The farm infrastructure and the agricultural production that infrastructure facilitated had to be defended, given the guerrilla tactics adopted by the Boer forces in the second half of the war. Again, in this new

context, the local power to control access and use the road was linked to the wider defence by the British of the rural railway and roads systems to ensure the flow of men, material and food.

THE MATERIAL FROM THE EXCAVATION

The discussion up to this point has emphasised the issues of road access and power, and how the position of the corbelled houses differentially reflects the growing participation in the global economic systems opened up by the wool and feather trade, as well as the diamond and gold rushes. Gorras I is at the centre of the werf and has a primary location granting it direct access to the road and reliable water. Although Gorras III is located at some distance from the main werf, it is equally well located adjacent to an old wagon track, and also access to a spring or putt 800 metres away from the house. In contrast, it is argued that the position of Gorras IV was primarily defined by a subservient proximity to Gorras I and not the road, and it is only through this connection that its occupants glimpsed the wider economic world.

Having highlighted how the roads intersect with issues of power and status, I now revisit the discussion of the archaeology and the spatial organization of domestic space in relation to this. As the road directly intersects with defining economic status, and position in a local social hierarchy this section will extend this by discussing how the material excavated from the middens of Gorras III and Gorras IV, and the surface pick up at Gorras I, add to this. I discuss the architectural sequences in relation to the material from Gorras IV first, followed by the material from Gorras III middens 2 and 3, and finally I briefly consider the material from Gorras I.

The architectural sequence of the corbelled houses point to the differential means to expand domestic space. For the occupants of both Gorras I and Gorras III, the architectural sequence underscores that both households had the economic means to expand their domestic spaces in response to household demands, but also the capacity, not simply to meet immediately practical demands, but also 'feed' social demands. In the case of Gorras I, the additions to the corbelled house may have been built during the South African war when the British officers moved into the Victorian house and the Van Wyk family moved back into the corbelled house (Gys Van Wyk pers.comm April 2018; Fig 9.1, Fig 9.2).

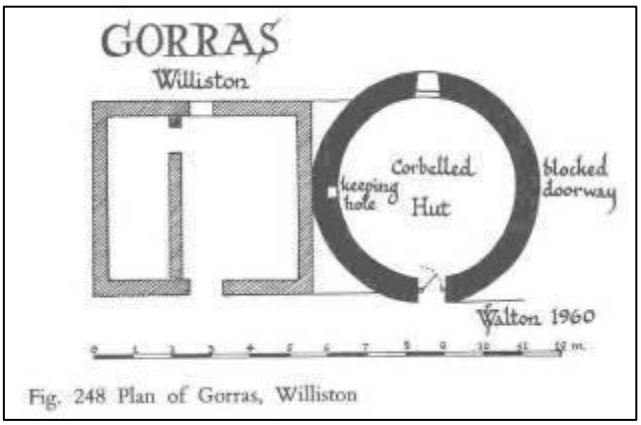

Figure 9. 1. Gorras I plan by Walton 1960

Figure 9. 2. Gorras I with extensions (Walton 1960).

However, the additions to the corbelled structure equally, more likely represent the family's expansion before the Victorian house was built, and that both this factor, combined with economic means, afforded the later construction of the Victorian house. As noted above, the shift to the Victorian house was an obvious index of economic success and growth. The survival of the corbelled structure within the expanding werf, may underpin the power it held in the memory of the Van Wyks (see Kramer 2012). In contrast the chronology of Gorras III indicates that while this domestic change developed and occurred at Gorras I, probably from the mid-1880s, Gorras III continued to be occupied, but in terms of household expansion, this was limited to additions only. These were similar to the additions to Gorras I, but less elaborate. They do however, in combination with the other material evidence, indicate a need for more space, and the two additions and the modifications to the door point to an active manipulation of the domestic space, that also reflects economic means and aspirations.

The front door, for instance, is modified and this was done it is suggested in response to the addition of the potentially more communal room B (Fig 9.3), and possible shift of the corbelled structure into a more recessed, private space. With the additions, the corbelled

structure becomes a room within the expanded household that perhaps functioned as a bedroom and so the modification of the doorway suggests more privacy was required between the two rooms. The second addition, room C (Fig 9.3), was most likely used as a kitchen. In contrast to Gorras I and Gorras III, Gorras IV was not spatially expanded and apart from the door closure, occupants, perhaps representing several different families, maintained its menial design. The only modification, that of filling in one of the doors, indicates at face value, that the ostrich walled camp possibly ceased to function. The door closure indicates perhaps more a change in the type of labour the household performed.

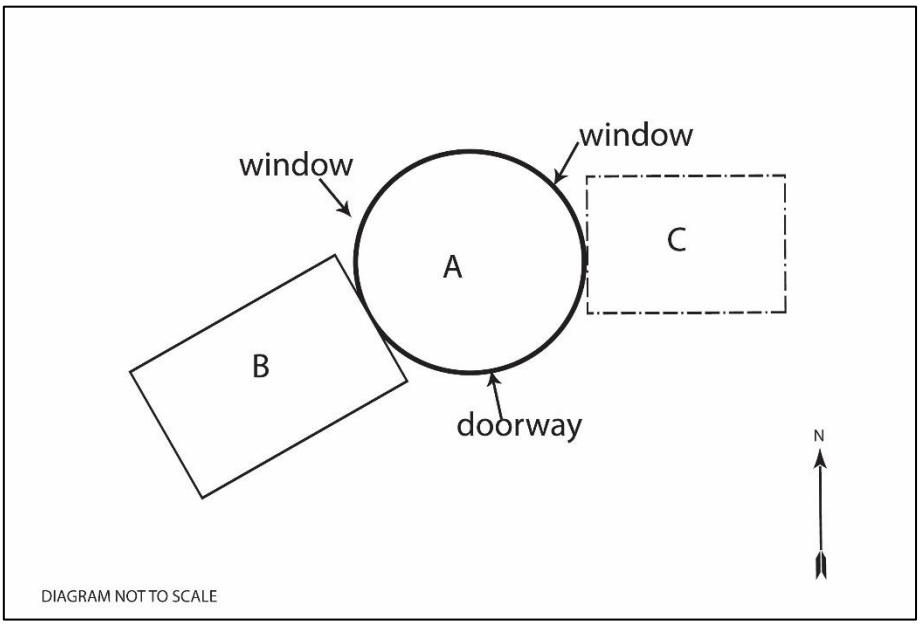

Figure 9. 3. Gorras III Plan view.

The spatial additions and modifications to these households provided more compartments for the organisation of daily life, such as communal eating and living and sleeping space. The addition of rooms onto the once communal one-room corbelled space architecturally compartmentalises household activities and a move to more private space and perhaps also space that could be used for entertaining, storing and displaying material artefacts. This obviously applied more to Gorras I and Gorras III.

From the spatial sequence and what we know about the biography of occupation on the farm, the question then is to what extent does the archaeology fit the pattern of economic means sketched out so far in this discussion? Given the analysis of the architectural sequence, as well as the discussion around space, place and position, the hypothesis of the social and economic status of the occupants of Gorras IV argues that they were farm labourers or labourers families of low social and economic status in relation to the occupants of Gorras I and Gorras III. While the architectural sequence in terms of the additions to structures supports this proposition, the material from the middens may elaborate this suggestion.

GORRAS IV

Gorras IV has been described as a menial household. It is small and there are no additions to the domestic space and so the issue of architecturally defining different private space is absent. Furthermore, there is no spatial potential to elaborate the display and storage of things, and there is no capacity to socially entertain within an enclosed space other than the corbelled structure. It is therefore likely that entertaining visitors took place outside. The Gorras IV structure can be seen as one, albeit pivotal compartment, within a household where the other activity 'compartments' are in the open space around the structure. This characterisation would fit within the complexion of the ceramics. From the ceramic classification it is clear that European refined industrial earthenware and undecorated white European refined industrial earthenware, although not present in high numbers, dominate. There are low percentages of European porcelain, and a few Asian porcelain pieces.

These types date the occupation represented by the midden to the later 19th and early 20th centuries, in keeping with the suggestion that the construction postdates the 1873 farm survey. Although there is a limited amount of European porcelain in the assemblage, there are

fragments which were likely part of tea ware as well as a fragment which was likely part of a decorative piece used in the house. The tea ware amounts to only one porcelain cup and one porcelain saucer. This is negligible in comparison to the tea ware counts from Gorras III, where tea drinking from teacups not small bowls, (see Zachariou 2017) is clearly evident. The implications of this presence potentially reflect, not only on a communal activity by household members, but teacups and saucers may also indicate that wider social networks of visiting required the possession and use of formal tea ware. The near absence of tea ware from Gorras IV indicates that guests were not entertained in the same way, and as noted architecturally there is no formal interior space that would serve this function. Additionally, the near absence of porcelain may reflect that it was generally more expensive than refined earthenware, and logically beyond the means of this household as they were most likely receiving the bulk of their ceramics from Gorras I. If the argument that Gorras IV was a household with minimal economic means, then the limited amount of porcelain from the midden is not surprising. The European stoneware is also limited, comprising some mineral water bottle fragments. These pieces also confirm the late 19th and early 20th century chronology of the midden occupation.

Despite the presence of large refined earthenware transfer printed plates, the range of decoration and print colours points to the fact that these clearly did not come from matched dinner sets and again, there is no space, or evidence of furniture within, and upon which such vessels would be used communally, and stored or displayed. Relative to other ceramic forms at Gorras IV, there are more large plates, compared to bowls. At other Karoo sites, such as Kerkplaats (Zachariou 2017), there was a high frequency of small bowls from the pre 1860 and despite the smaller sample, also from the major post 1860 midden. While the later 19th century date for Gorras IV may account for the near absence of small bowls we would expect

to see some bowls which were multi-purpose vessels and also for tea drinking. There are no serving dishes or tureens associated with the assemblage and this is also not surprising, given the absence of formal matched sets. If the case is similar to other sites, such as Kerkplaats (Zachariou 2017), we would expect to see some bowls which might have been informally for tea drinking. Their absence at Gorras IV is somewhat anomalous.

The relatively high frequency of large plates, poses the question as to whether these vessels were purchased or obtained in another way? Despite the absence of matching sets, and the wide colour diversity of transfer prints, it is still possible that they were bought by Gorras IV households from a general dealer. However, the mixed decoration could also indicate that they were given these plates, possibly from the Gorras I household, and acquired singly. The plates might be a 'set' in the sense that individuals could have their own, but they 'match' only because of the function implied by plate, and not in the wider social sense. Additionally, the limited domestic space would not have allowed for the display or storage of sets, or for formal eating at a table, as has been inferred for Gorras III.

Obviously, this is speculative but would be in keeping with the complexion of the whole artefact assemblage, starting with the structure itself. The latter possibility reflects low household purchasing power. As noted above, matched sets imply a formal dining arrangement for their use and the space or furniture within which to display or store them. Architecturally this is absent, and the single structure indicates that cooking and probably much eating was done outside. It is not surprising that there is no evidence of furniture. The combination of spatial dynamics and the limited ceramic profile support the idea that this household over the time represented by the midden contents had limited economic means.

As noted in Chapter Eight, the Gorras IV ceramic profile is somewhat similar to that of Gorras III, but it is the quantities that differ. If, as has been argued, the Gorras III household/s were in a position to purchase commodities, the same may obviously be said of the Gorras IV household. At face value, rural households were 'dipping' into the same available ceramics. However, this similarity may be seen differently and alternatively, were the occupants purchasing their own or did they inherit or acquire them from the main house? Also as noted, the character of the Gorras IV material culture has been described as 'scavenged' and 'recycled', and the same may also apply to the ceramics. In this regard, it has been noted that there are a few slip ware bowls in the Gorras IV assemblage, which characteristically would have been the cheapest and most widely available vessel and commonly occurs at a high frequency in the Cape through these times (see Moffett 2010; Zachariou 2017). While, some of this material may have been dumped elsewhere this absence is still remarkable. If the occupants had the means to purchase, a reasonable expectation would be to find more of these ceramics in the midden assemblage.

When it comes to the form and function of the vessels, there are more plates than bowls (28 large plates versus 3 small bowls). This may be relevant to the issue raised above. The dominance of plates may run counter to the assumption that a high frequency of bowls, among other factors, would suggest a lower economic status and the consumption of soups or stew-type meals. If this assumption carries weight, then it may also contribute support to the possibility that the relative frequency of plates at Gorras IV indicates that their supply was within the farm and not independently acquired. The general similarity between Gorras IV and III in relation to the refined earthenware may reflect a local 'hand-me-down' network. The possible menial economic means of these occupants and the relatively high frequency

of transfer printed plates raises the need for a critical examination of foodways as an index, not only of economic status, but shifts in cultural practice.

Ceramics aside, evidence for the actual process of cooking food at Gorras IV is circumstantial. The presence of sheep bone in the midden obviously indicates their availability but not the means of acquisition but there is no evidence yet to suggest how meat was prepared. Archaeozoological analyses of body part distribution and mortality profiles, and comparison of these, especially with the Gorras III sheep bone, may indicate key differences. It is notable in the Gorras IV assemblage that there is no formal evidence of kitchenware, in the form of caste iron pots and enamel baking trays, as is the case at Gorras III. Even if all cooking was over an open fire in an outside cooking 'skerm', and here the potential cooking area to the south west of the structure suggests this, one would expect some evidence of food preparation, unless part of this process resides in the recycled cans and tins. This absence is curious and may hint at who the assumed workers were who used Gorras IV. The possibility that Gorras IV was also used by itinerant seasonal workers, sheep shearers for example, raises the issue that a mobile sheep shearer 'household' would take their 'kitchen' with them. This possibility may account, in part, for the absence of kitchenware.

Glass in the Gorras IV assemblage is limited and also confirms late 19th to early 20th century date for deposition of the midden. In terms of form and function, toiletry or apothecary type glass makes up 50% of the MNV followed by the beverage container glass, which makes up 41.7 % of the glass MNV. It appears that beer is the most consumed alcoholic beverage while the primary needs of the occupants are indicated by personal care type containers. The absence of glass ware in the form of ornaments for decoration or table ware points to meeting only basic needs.

There are some jewellery pieces from Gorras IV, which was probably cheap, costume type jewellery. Other than this, there is no other ornamental metal from Gorras IV. There are some fragments of items used in the 'farmyard', such as tin sheets, a spring which would have come from a carriage, as well as iron and alloy tubes, and a cap for a container possibly for a cleaning liquid. There is also some twisted wire and wire alloy, and some iron and alloy nails. Much of this metal is surface scatter, and while some of it may have eroded from the midden, it does indicate the use of space around the structure, well into the early 20th century. While the midden material underpins domestic debris, the presence of the surface scatter could indicate the continued use of Gorras IV, but that the prime focus was not as a household.

However, one metal find was very striking. It is the base of a copper alloy combined stove found within the boulders of the midden. This vessel probably was used during the South African war and would have included a mess tin as part of a set used by soldiers in the field. This links the use of Gorras IV up to the South African war and potentially after the war had ended. We know that British officers occupied the Victorian house at this time and that Van Wyk grew wheat for the British (Gys van Wyk, pers. comm. April 2018). The presence of South African war related material more specifically, may be linked to the British military sangar on the hill adjacent to Gorras IV. In addition to the stove base, a number of British general service buttons were part of the surface scatter and the question is, does their presence reflect the use of the structure by soldiers during the war or were they collected later by farm occupants of the structure? The presence of the combined stove in the excavation could support the supposition that the military insignia was from military use of Gorras IV, and underlines that despite its relatively simple appearance it has a more complex history.

Additionally, perforated tins may have originally been food containers for British soldier although again, it cannot be ruled out that these surface finds were also ‘scavenged’.

The presence of bullet casings from Lee-Metford and Lee-Enfield rifles, both used by the British during the South African war, also potentially emphasises the farm’s entanglement with the conflict. Some of these casings are crimped, cut and folded and the impression is that they were collected, and the metal recycled. With regard to military metal, other than the British military buttons found, one other significant find was an American general service button, and this possibly points to the involvement of American officers in the South African war, on both sides of the conflict. There was plenty of anti-British sentiment worldwide during this period, as the British were becoming a global political and economic superpower. I speculate that the button could have been a souvenir brought in by the British soldiers occupying the fort, or it could also have been owned by an American soldier who had taken the side of the British in the conflict. As much as both the European continent and North America had disdain for the British, “the policy of the United States government throughout the war was one of unabashed sympathy with Great Britain ... During the war American diplomats looked after British interests and the welfare of British prisoners of war in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. American bankers floated loans that paid roughly 20 percent of Britain’s war costs” (Anderson 1978: 220–221). Simultaneously, however, Americans also assisted the Boers during the war (Anderson 1978; see also Keller 1980; Tuffnell 2011). The South African war material at Gorras IV obviously indicates the proximity and links to the fort. However, this does not necessarily mean that it was utilised during the actual period of conflict.

The nature of Gorras IV as a household, is potentially more complex than suggested by its simple appearance. It is reasonable to suggest the structure was at the core of farm worker households, as well as a base for potentially itinerant or seasonal workers. It may also have served British soldiers during the South African war, but equally, the military material culture could have been collected after the event. In summarising this evidence for the nature of Gorras IV, the chronology indicated by the *in-situ* material from the midden is of a series of later 19th, and early 20th century occupations. The material mix and this chronology is generally the same suggested by the material from the Gorras middens. This is important, because it obviously means that both structures were used on the farm over the same period, and both continued to be used, after the Van Wyk household moved out of Gorras I and into the Victorian house.

GORRAS III

As presented above, Gorras IV has been described as a place that could have had multiple 'functions', and not simply the residence of farm workers. In whatever function, the sense from the material record from Gorras IV is that the immediate 'supply chain' was between it and Gorras I and potentially also with the British fort. Additionally, absences in the material record of Gorras IV may 'speak' to its use by itinerant labour. The 'sense' of the material from Gorras III is different.

As discussed above, the distant location of Gorras III from Gorras I may reflect a working, but more independent relationship between the two, in which Gorras III was not part of the 'supply-chain'. Given the size of the structure, its architectural additions, and the sheep kraals associated with it, a few scenarios about Gorras III as a household can be suggested. It will be remembered that an aspect of the distance between it, and Gorras I may have been 'social'

and that the occupants of the structure were bywoners. If this is indeed the case, there are three possible scenarios. Firstly, that the occupants owned the sheep and paid a renters' fee or provided labour to the leaseholder or landowner as 'rent' for occupation. Secondly, it is possible that the occupants managed the sheep owned by the leaseholder or landowner. Thirdly, that the kraals were used communally or by another landholder/landowner on the immediately adjacent farms.

In this scenario, the distance of Gorras III from Gorras I may simply reflect the practicality of the location in relation to farm practicalities to do with grazing, for example, or other networks, that included the immediately adjacent farms, and like Gorras I, the road/track close by. The location of Gorras III points to a relative degree of independence from the main Gorras I werf. When viewed comparatively with Gorras IV, the evidence from Gorras III indicates a household or sequential household that had greater and increasing financial means, and this is expressed in the architectural sequence of the two room additions onto the original corbelled house. The direct proximity to the house may indicate that either the kraals were built at the same time as the corbelled house or were built at the time the additional rooms were added. Perhaps the latter is more likely, given the interpretation that the architectural sequence and that the interpretation of the contents of middens 2 and 3 is that they reflect the growth of this household and the economic means to support that growth. In terms of its location, the occupants of Gorras III were definitely not landowners, but potentially had the capacity to pay their way to the leaseholder or landowner both before and after 1873, and materially expand the household.

The material from the excavation is considerably more complex and varied than the material from Gorras IV. While the sample size is significantly larger, this is not the only reason. In contrast to Gorras IV, Gorras III was expanded with two additional rooms. Extension B in the front potentially provided communal living and eating space and this prompted the reduction of corbelled house door width, and this possibly reflects the shift of the original corbelled structure to more private space. Logically, the kitchen (extension C), was added at the same time as the front room. Given these additions, and what they imply the material from middens 2 and 3 indicate that both reflect discard from the period when the household was spatially expanded.

As noted, the ceramics are roughly the same as those from Gorras IV, but in greater quantity, and especially there are grounds to suggest that between midden 3 and 2, greater quantity reflects the economic growth of the household. The finds from midden 2 largely reflect this. The high frequency of European porcelain cups and saucers, like the frequency of plates, increase in number from midden 3 to midden 2, and together not only indicate independent power to purchase, but the material conventions of 'proper' eating and tea drinking.
The cups were probably not made as matching sets in the formal sense but were purchased from large shipments and made into 'sets' within the household. The presence of simple cups, saucers and a tea pot, not only reflect 'proper' conventions within the household, but the capacity to present the household to visitors in the simple act of setting out a tea tray, for example. While this could be the same at Gorras IV the range of plates from middens 2 and 3 are decoratively diverse, but like the tea ware, indicate that individuals had their own. The diversity and amount of tableware at Gorras III, in comparison to Gorras IV, points to a higher capacity to independently purchase, but also reflects the development of a household in which the architectural compartmentalisation of space and activity ran parallel with buying

power and the ability to fill that space with things. Gorras III changed from an initial mix of inside and outside activities that combined to define the idea of household, to one that increasingly emphasised a household based on interior activity areas. In contrast, the Gorras IV households did not, and it is suggested, could not, make this change.

An interesting point to make about the food preparation practices from both middens is that the bone was badly burnt and charred at level 5 or 6 temperatures (see Stiner et.al 1995). The high temperatures needed to burn the bone suggests that ash from a stove was thrown onto the midden or included as discard with the bone. These temperatures may reflect the presence of a cast iron stove and that cooking was not on an open fire. The implication is that a stove would have been located in addition C, but a cast iron stove could equally, have been located in the front room, especially if it was a communal living space. When compared with the bone from Gorras IV, which was not burnt, the burnt bone of Gorras III would suggest the means to own a stove requiring either the purchase of coal, or wood and thus further underlines economic means. The presence of a stove may also be inferred through the recovery of kitchenware in the form of caste iron pot fragments and enamel baking trays. As discussed above, this is in sharp contrast to Gorras IV, where there is little to no direct evidence of the process of cooking.

The glass in the assemblage is also diverse both in colour, as well as form and function. Other than beverage and toiletry/apothecary glass, the assemblage also has pieces that may be from tableware. The presence of glass tableware is a clear differentiator in the composition of the Gorras III and IV assemblages. The high frequency of the small toiletry and apothecary bottles potentially indicate contents not only for practical use within the household, but for

the specific needs and desires of women and wives. There is in this regard, a sense of indulgence expressed by the glass in the assemblage.

The diversity and range of metal in the assemblage further points to greater purchasing power. While the Gorras IV assemblage largely appeared to represent scrap metal fragments, the Gorras III assemblage has large fragments that are remnants of household, and farmyard use. A number of pieces are 'diagnostic', in that they clearly come from more complex, multi-component machinery but the identity of these is uncertain. The metal from Gorras III represents more than farmyard scraps and indicates activities and production that are not represented at Gorras IV. The presence of a sickle blade is an obvious example, that at face value, points to winter wheat harvesting from fields to the south in the vicinity of the well. The corbelled structure, Gorras II, is the only granary on the farm and is located within the main Gorras I werf. It is speculative but suggests that a Gorras III household harvested cereal that was not their own because it was stored by the landowner.

It is worth highlighting that two of the metal artefacts recovered from midden 2 make a significant contribution to the discussion concerning the expansion of the household and the increasing addition of more space for particular activities. These are the parts of the decorative head section of a bed and the front plate of a padlock. The presence of a bed potentially may be linked to the shift of the original corbelled structure towards bedroom and privacy and contributes to the increasing elaboration of the household with domestic things, of which furniture, and specifically a bed or beds, are included. Additionally, the presence of a padlock underpins the need to secure those things and those spaces.

The contrast between Gorras IV and Gorras III is apparent from both the architectural sequence and the material culture from the associated domestic middens. It is suggested that Gorras IV was the setting for farm worker household/s, and architecturally the original corbelled structure remained predominantly as it was originally built, and consequently the nature of a household was basically static. Gorras III, however, from the architectural and material evidence was clearly dynamic, in that the nature of the household and household activities increasingly emphasised interior settings.

Attention turns briefly to Gorras I, that we know was the dwelling of Jankowitz as a lessee and Van Wyk as a landowner. Although the midden at Gorras I was destroyed by its proximity to the construction activities around the main werf, a surface pick-up behind the original corbelled structure and the additions to it, suggests a great degree of complexity in the assemblage, compared to the other two. The pattern of a dominance of European refined earthenware was replicated in this assemblage, but there is a high variability in the decoration types in this assemblage, particularly with regard to the transfer-printed vessels. In this regard, all the types present at Gorras IV and III are present in the Gorras I pick-up, and in high numbers. Also, there was a large amount of painted and sponged vessels whose % MNV was considerably higher than those of Gorras III and Gorras IV (see Appendix F). In contrast, the % MNV of slipware at Gorras I was also low, and this low frequency is again seen at the other two households. This pattern or absence indicates that slipware lost its local popularity during the late 19th century and early 20th century period. In addition to the general similarity in the ceramics from Gorras I and Gorras III and IV, the frequency of pieces of tableware and serving dishes is apparent. While this may elaborate the full range of tableware hinted at for Gorras III, the lack of control over the Gorras I material, unfortunately limits the comparison.

Architectural sequence aside, the comparison with Gorras I is seriously limited and so I return to the economic means of the occupants of Gorras III. The material diversity of the midden and the occupants' capacity to add extensions to the corbelled house points to economic means and aspirations. However, as outlined above, the Gorras III household/s were not landowners but they added extensions, probably before the turn of the century. The first scenario outlined above, that the Gorras III household, represented by the period over which middens 2 and 3 accumulated, owned sheep and paid a renters' fee, or labour to the leaseholder or landowner as 'rent' for occupation, is a reasonable conclusion. This most probably would have been a mixed race, or Bastaard household. Additionally, if they owned sheep, as the proximity of the kraals to the household suggests, as well as the significant amount of sheep bone in the middens, then rent for use of the land to a land owner may have been generated by their own involvement in commercial pastoralism, and merino wool production in particular.

On the basis of the midden material, this suggested arrangement would have been in operation from the later 19th century into the early 20th century but probably not beyond the 1930s. It will be remembered that Van Wyk was a participant in the poor white/bywoner scheme and that the rectangular stone house 800 metres to the south of Gorras III, might have served this purpose. In the increasing marginalisation of 'coloured' communities in favour of supporting poor whites, it seems unlikely that the two overlapped (1/WILL LEER 10/6/3/73) see Appendix C: Part 2. The value of the different Gorras assemblages is that they provide a means to relate different households in their totality to later 19th century and early 20th century economic circumstances. One important point is the possibility of moving away from totalising narratives of the experience of capitalism and colonialism. This is specifically when we ask the question, what do rural pastoral communities look like during this period? The

experience of Gorras farm indicates that while there may be economic factors and contexts that are widespread and general, their particular effects on different socio-economic groups need to be assessed within the particular historical settings, in this case a single farm, and then explored and linked with a specific archaeological record.

The abundance of material at Gorras III when compared to Gorras IV speaks to economic means and aspiration and a shifting of the home from simple to more abundant. If the occupants were descendants of Bastaards the household change moves from a combination of one interior to several exterior activity spaces to an increasingly interior household focus. This spatial shift is, for example, reflected quite simply in relative abundance of tea ware in midden 2 when compared to midden 3, and potentially speaks to this shift and reorganisation of the household from objects meeting a family's most basic needs to objects becoming signifiers of status.

The Victorian influence had an effect on Cape society by initiating "a moral code of respectability" (Bradlow 2009:51 see also Ross 1999; Mitchell 2007 and Mitchell & Groenewald 2010). This was predicated by material indulgences that communicate taste and elegance and this aspirational quality may be seen in the assemblage from the Gorras III middens. This addresses the question of how ideas about domesticity are anchored in things that are the setting for everyday rituals and routines, and how they are communicated and internalised in social life (Löfgren 1984). In terms of understanding the daily rituals of the underclass, we have very few comparative case studies that are linked to the rural underclass and the context for exploring material indulgence, aspiration and identity. The two case studies from the Karoo by Moffett (2010) and Zachariou (2013) stand out, as they are focused on the issues of rural wealth and mobility through the 19th and early 20th century. In the

context of changing domestic practices and the growing gap between ideals and economic realities of the home as they relate to class and race, future comparative studies need to be directed at the material sensibilities of rural communities in the Northern Cape. Such studies would better contextualise issues around materiality and respectability and allow for a fuller discussion when compared, for example, with the tea drinking sensibilities of the Eastern Cape frontier (Winer & Deetz 1990; Winer 1995). In a context where formal dining, and tea drinking become prized cultural symbols of upward mobility, the comparability of the British in the Eastern Cape with the Northern Cape is of utmost interest.

While the case of Gorras III is obviously different, there are some similarities in how the combination of the front room addition resonates with progression between midden 3 and 2 and the interaction between space and objects that gain aspirational agency and symbols of relative status. As discussed in the Chapter Eight conclusion, tea drinking in the case of Gorras III, can be a signifier of social ritual that can go with entertaining. The abundance of certain objects noted such as the toiletry glass and perfume bottles may further also refer to gender roles being delineated through the additional spaces in the home. In a network of interactions between aspiration, means, things and interiority, the padlock face from midden 2 captures this spatial shift where potential boundaries between the outside and inside of a room, a trunk or a cupboard now need to be guarded.

In the Cape later nineteenth century Victorian ideals become important assets people used to align themselves with middle class pursuits and aspire to that class. Lupuwana (2017) explores this issue of aspiration through the use of clothes as social distinguishers through the later nineteenth century rock engravings. The same may hold for the material culture of Gorras III where increasingly, the objects of the home, "served as symbols that allowed

observers to perceive the distinctions claimed by [the owner]" (Lupuwana 2017:131 see also Bradlow 1987; Lawrence 2003; Horiuchi 2009; Wagner 2018). Furniture, such as beds, and tableware, a 'set' of cups and saucers and crockery resonate with each other to affirm and bolster aspiration in the Gorras III household. In contrast, a Gorras IV household would certainly have had aspirations and in the possession of some of these things, but there is little to see that changed in the sequence that has been sampled.

Victorian ideals may be seen through, the organisation of the home and through the gendered division of labour in the household. In the case of Gorras III we see this in the building of a kitchen as it would create more space for the domestic activities of the woman's world in contrast to the sheep rearing mercantile world of the men involved in the merino wool trade. The stone wall kraal complex immediately behind Gorras III, is a firm spatial expression of male space, irrespective of whether the Gorras III household owned the sheep or managed them for the landowner. The objects in the home therefore communicated differences within a class and outside of that class (Bradlow 1987; Lawrence 2003; Horiuchi 2009; Lupuwana 2017; Wagner 2018; Lupuwana & Hall 2019).

In the mid- to late 19th century, the second part of Lofgren's article looks at how dominant views of domesticity as defined by the middle class start to represent the natural order of things. There is an attempt by the Swedish Oscarian bourgeoisie to spread the concept of household or home at the turn of the century into the 1930s and 1940s when the ideal modern home is established under the fortification of a welfare state. The case of modernity and respectability is equally the case in the Cape, as the closing frontier largely represents a move to a more British-influenced cultural, social and economic experience of what the domestic space looks like (Bradlow 1987; Lawrence 2003; Horiuchi 2009; Wagner 2018).

In the case of Gorras these Victorian sensibilities are realised in the construction by Van Wyk of a Victorian style house, that in the same werf, resonates with the corbelled house, Gorras I and its own aspirational additions, and the memory and meaning it held for his family, and still does for the current owner. While the additions to the domestic space at Gorras I created more architectural boundaries within which different activity is performed in the house (see Winer & Deetz 1990 for the 1820 Settler experiences), the addition of the Victorian house fulfils the full expression of a later 19th century aspiration, until the 1960s, when the new 'wool boom' house is built further up the hill. The Gorras III household may have run parallel to the Gorras I change for a while, but the Victorian house provided a local model of aspiration regardless of their class that obviously could not be fulfilled.

However, aspiration, as a concept needs to be critically examined as it is not as simple a case of individuals passively adopting the sensibilities of the Victorian home as both "stage and shelter" (Löfgren 1984: 143). More specifically, the home in the case of Gorras III and Gorras I, can be seen as representative of these ideals, and while the Van Wyk household continued to flourish through the building of the Victorian home, Gorras III, although latching onto aspirational material culture actively asserted class identity but perhaps even more conspicuously, a racial identity.

British ideals about presenting oneself are key to the Cape's colonial exercise and what is evident in the literature is an 'othering' of customs that do not fit into the British world view (Bradlow 1987; Lawrence 2003; Horiuchi 2009; Wagner 2018). The ability to present oneself therefore becomes a social currency. Objects of the home could therefore be used to communicate sophistication and drew on the history of the open frontier, when the category

Bastaard was generated. In the early 19th century this category of person could be an independent pastoralist and naturally aspired to own land. In this open frontier both Bastaard and Boer were 'united' as pastoralists in the face of San hunter-gatherers on the Roggeveld Escarpment and the Karoo, who resisted this expanding pastoralist frontier. The violence of commandos reduced people of direct Khoesan descent to the menial category of farm labour. A Gorras III household, linked to the memory of the open frontier, would, despite their political and economic marginalisation through the 19th century, aspire to the Victorian model expressed in the Gorras I werf.

If the families that made up the households of Gorras IV were of direct Khoesan descent, then Gorras III households would equally seek to ensure that the historical distinctions generated in the open frontier were maintained. Gorras III households did not only project themselves 'up', in relation to Gorras I, but in the historical microcosm of the farm, it is suggested, materially acted to maintain the social and economic distance created in the context of the open frontier. It is suggested that Gorras IV households of Khoesan descendent families provided the memory and the motivation to make this distinction. Gorras III households, within their capacity to express British ideals about presenting oneself are key to the Cape's colonial exercise. If the identity of the Gorras III households is correct, they tried to 'fit in upwards', but at the same time it is suggested, they actively 'othered' menial farm labourers who could not fit into the British world view. The ability and motivation to present oneself actively works both up and down the local social hierarchy (Bradlow 1987; Bickford-Smith 1987; Lawrence 2003; Brink 2008; Horiuchi 2009; Wagner 2018).

In the case of Gorras III it is emphasised that they did not simply adopt British expectations in the organisation of the house. While the Victorian templates, within their means, actively

permeate the organisation of the home with the increase in interior space and the presence of a communal room, it is still the case that deeper time cultural templates may have altered the ideal. The ideals that embody the use of space are therefore very specific to a particular community and setting. Löfgren further argues that "we cannot talk of a simple process of embourgeoisement during the 20th century. It is important to distinguish between form and content when discussing working-class appropriation of middle-class lifestyles. Elements may be borrowed but they are charged with new cultural meanings" (Löfgren 1984: 158). This issue is equally represented in the material culture of the rural Karoo which is by no means homogenous (see Moffett 2010; Zachariou 2017). This point is made by Gorras III in the simple fact that the architecture combines both the form of deeper time pastoralist dwelling and British rectangularity.

Given this, I would argue that it is important to think critically about rural underclass or working-class domestic organisation. Although there are elements of aspiration that might be expressed through the domestic organisation of the home, others reflect prior practice and histories and agency that while they might not be able to purchase fully aspirational objects of 'modern homes' that aspiration is not simply about copying. In the case of Gorras, the opportunity to explore two different cases of the underclass experience contrasted with the bourgeoning middle-class home of Gorras I, has given a glimpse into the material expressions of these experiences. The micro-scale experiences are played out within the framework of the macro-economic and macro-political world, but also with reference to the dynamics of the earlier 19th century frontier experiences of the Cape. Giving attention to each household on the farm opens up opportunities for more nuanced interpretations of specific responses by both marginalised Karoo dwellers and landowners. Importantly, this, limits generalising the

experiences of Karoo dwellers in the rapid changes they experienced through the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

This thesis has discussed the first detailed excavation of Karoo corbelled houses dating from the late 19th century from Gorras farm. The approach taken sees these structures as emerging from frontier interactions between colonial and indigenous pastoralist economies. Whilst some of the issues that have dominated the discussions around corbelled houses have centred around 'race', as it relates to who built these structures, this study elaborates the view that these structures reflect multiracial frontier interactions (Kramer 2012; Smuts 2012 & Hancock 2013). Consequently, work by Kramer (2012), and Lupuwana (2017) has emphasised that a number of these structures were built by Basters, and Khoesan descendant communities and Europeans. Chapter two introduced some of these issues and undermined earlier research around corbelled houses as a European architecture type. The theory around frontiers argues that exchanges in frontier contexts are more nuanced than a simple imposition of a 'core' over a 'periphery'. As continually noted, corbelled houses owe their emergent 19th century form to multiple influences (Kramer 2012; Hancock 2013). The framework de-emphasises a binary view frontiers and interactions.

Chapter three reviewed the history of social interaction that contextualised the socio-political and economic environment within which these structures came about. The discussion here focused on the social histories of the Karoo and the theories of house, space and objects. In elaborating the social histories of the Karoo, the concept of the closing frontier is highlighted as an integral starting point for discussing the use and occupation of the Gorras corbelled structures. The question being, what do these structures mean to the concept of indigeneity and cultural exchange once the frontier begins to close? Do they function merely as remnants of an old housing system or are they subconscious templates of social organization that attest

to the earlier frontier processes of cultural interaction? I argue that the functions need not be mutually exclusive but that these structures can represent both a remnant and an ongoing conversation about the past, whether the occupants or architects are explicitly aware of this or not.

The focus on the closing Karoo frontier is one of contestation, disenfranchisement and violence, where there is economic closure and growing social stratification that is underpinned by political marginalisation and exclusion (Giliomee 1981). In the context of global markets and the shift from a rural subsistence pastoral economy to a fully commercial pastoralism, the exclusion from land exacerbates the plight of the rural poor: Black, Coloured, Khoesan descendant communities and 'Basters' could not own land. It is within this context that the biographical micro-level of Gorras is examined, where the material remains of lessors, owners, farm workers and bywoners (sharecroppers) are compared.

Legislation and policies disenfranchised Black, Coloured and Khoesan descendant groups from the landscape and left them with very few independent economic options. Equally, within the later 19th century volatile global economies of merino wool and ostrich feather production, even prospective white landowners such as the Jankowitz brothers gave up their agricultural ambitions. Quite simply, the economics of this period were cyclical and characterised by periods of peaks and busts, and those without reasonable capital also capitulated and entered the industrial labour market. The later 19th century did not unilaterally mean success for all. The households on Gorras provide a preliminary glimpse into households whose social and economic standings reflect a small range of economic status, from landowner (Van Wyk), through to potential semi- independent success and lastly, in the case of farm labour, full marginalisation.

This preliminary study of Gorras allows us to materially explore these distinctions, but also cautions against totalising narratives of the effect of capitalism and colonialism during this period. In this regard, the supposition that the identity of the Gorras III household was one of semi-independent sharecroppers underpins some economic independence despite the strong possibility that they were not landowners.

This discussion of Gorras therefore, is a first step in exploring the material expressions of rural economies across a range of social contexts. However, these first steps require many more comparative perspectives, both from corbelled house middens, and other contemporary households that overlap with the continued use of these structures into the early 20th century period. It will be interesting to explore the material economies of farms whose leases were granted earlier in the 19th century, versus farms whose leases, such as Gorras, were granted in the later 19th century when the frontier was fully closing. Additionally, within this context there is also the growth of poor whites and the rise of a welfare state and the foundations of Nationalist Apartheid policy. Archaeological approaches to these contexts would extend the sequence for comparative study.

WAY FORWARD

The potential of Gorras as a case study is that three domestic dwellings are examined comparatively, within the available documentary evidence of the farm. The fact that Gorras was leased before it was purchased, potentially makes the specific biography of the farm and its associated material cultures, more complex than other farms. The point is that at this scale the experience of other farms in the Gorras area of the closing frontier and their formal entry into global economies could be very different. In the case of Gorras, aspirant landowners failed to purchase, before the Van Wyks, but both resided in Gorras I which was marked the start of the operational centre of the property. As outlined above, the associated archaeology

of Gorras I is poorly perceived because it has been disturbed, overlain and mixed as a result of the development of the farm centre. It is doubtful whether any *in-situ* material survives to be found, and consequently, other documented and archaeological sequences of carefully selected other farms, are needed, in order to fill in comparative gaps and develop comparisons that continue to explore the material expressions across a range of unique micro-histories. Included in this project would be the search for contexts in which indigeneity and the issue of cultural change and continuity is also perhaps more explicitly 'visible' in the documentary record and which would provide expectations of the material record about the way the commodities of European industrialisation are culturally filtered and inflected. A continuing project that works at the micro-scale, links the particular local conditions and choices made to the wider regional economic history, as well as global economics.

Future research could, therefore, be directed towards targeted biographical studies that examine the middens on farms that were occupied in the early 19th century, the mid-19th century and the late 19th century and comparing the histories and material records of each along this timeline. The cultural creole that contributed to the specific architectural form of corbelled structures at the centre of some, but not all, rural Karoo households, underpins that these unique contexts provide rich opportunities for ongoing archaeological research. In this regard, the potential is significant given that rock engravings that potentially express continuing values and Khoesan beliefs of rain making and girls initiation are expressed within depictions of later 19th century European Karoo houses (Lupuwana 2017; Lupuwana & Hall 2019). Moreover, and as noted, a worthwhile endeavour would be in comparing the historical, architectural and material sequences of farms where it is known that corbelled buildings, as households that were modified significantly with rectangular additions in the later 19th century, chronologically overlapped with the ruins of substantial multi-roomed rectangular houses. In these contexts, assumptions about different architectural forms

underpinning a gradient of landowner, through to bywoner/squatter and farm labour, can be materially explored. Examples of such farms to pursue this direction are Schimmelfontein, excavated by Moffett (2010), and Kerkplaats excavated by Zachariou (2017), where preliminary work on later 19th century sequences needs to be expanded with these issues in mind. By adding these case studies to the study and excavating more corbelled housing sites and examining the other material culture in their vicinity, such as the historic rock engravings mentioned above, we might get a broader cultural picture of rural Karoo communities.

There are many contexts for future research, but as indicated above, there has already been some excavation-based research. This work has primarily focused on describing ceramic sequences, but it has generated other categories of data that have received no specialist analysis. The abundant faunal remains, as to be expected are predominantly sheep, remain to be given a detailed research focus, and the same applies to this study. A specialist analysis of the faunal remains from chronological contexts throughout the 19th century Karoo can start to explore patterns of mortality and butchery that go to the heart of specific pastoralist practice. Although the sample for Gorras III, for example, is relatively small, analysis of these remains can be focused specifically on the issue of the identity of the Gorras III household and how the faunal remains in middens 2 and 3 might contribute more to this issue. What might this material indicate about the mix of indigenous and European breeds and how might this vary through time and space?

Lastly, this preliminary research of Gorras farm indicates that while there is a general economic context that moulds the nature of the later 19th century cultural responses, the particular responses of Karoo dwellers, whether it is a leaseholder, owner, squatter or labourer can be profitably assessed within the historical and archaeological record. In, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, Maya Angelou's biography, she recalls growing up in Stamps in rural Arkansas in the early 20th century, she makes a point of stating that the Great

Depression had been going on long before it had an actual effect on the Black rural communities of Stamps (Angelou 1969). I find this comment quite profound because it hints at the issue of the differential experiences of rural communities and how these experiences need to be assessed at a more local micro-scale level in order to come up with more robust statements regarding the experience of capitalism, colonialism and the growth of a middle class in the late 19th century and early 20th century South Africa.

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FROM THE CAPE TOWN NATIONAL ARCHIVES – KAB

SOURCE	TYPE	VOLUME	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION
CO	LEER	4165	S93	WJ SMITH FOR WCJ SMITH REGARDING CANCELATION OF LAND NEAR FRASERBURG, 1870.
C0	LEER	4167	C120	HWA COOPER FOR JANKOWITZ AND OTHERS REGARDING IMPROVEMENTS ON LAND NEAR FRASERBURG, 1871.
CO	LEER	4168	J8	JC JANKOWITZ REGARDING LEASE OF FARM "GORRA",1871.
CO	LEER	4168	K29	CANCELATION OF LEASE BANKSFONTEIN, 1871.
CO	LEER	4070	11	JDC JANKOWITZ APPLICATION TO PURCHASE 30 POUNDS OF GUNPOWDER, 1853.
CO	LEER	4159	7	JDC JANKOWITZ REQUESTING CANCELLATION OF LEASE FOR THE FARM GORRAS NEAR FRASERBURG, 1869.
CO	LEER	4163	J1	REGARDING LEASE FOR THE FARM DE GORRAS, 1870
CO	LEER	4157	101	MCJ JANKOWITZ LEASE OF BANKSFONTEIN
CO	LEER	4150	107	JANKOWITZ BROTHERS REQUESTING COMPENSATION,1868
MOOC	LEER	13/1/228	59	GORAAS
AG	M3	4741		Map of Williston
AG	M2	651		Map of Fraserburg 1881
AG	M2	1566		Map of Fraserburg 1889
AG	M3	2813		Reconnaissance map
CO	LEER	1.BFW 9/57		C. Alheit to Civil Commissioner 1894 (sic) 1848.
CO	LEER	4112	V23	Reverend Alheit map regarding proposed telegraph service.

NATIONAL ARMY MUSEUM LONDON

ACCESSION NUMBER	DESCRIPTION
NAM.1963-08-121-1	'Framing of Blockhouse' construction plan. South Africa, 1901
NAM.2001-06-112-20	A British blockhouse, South Africa, 1901
NAM 1985-10-130-17	Elements of a prefabricated blockhouse on a flat -bed wagon, 1901
NAM. 2001-06-112-20	Marini-Henry.450- inch rifle MK I, 2nd pattern 1873.
NAM. 1998-03-11-1	Lee-Metford MK ii. 303- inch rifle, Boer forces, 1901.
NAM. 1963-08-121-1	Combined stove.
NAM.1997-09-75-1	Building material
NAM. 1997-08-75-1	Emergency ration tins.

RELEVANT LEGISLATION

Bushman-Relics Protection Act (No. 22 of 1911)

Natural and Historical Monuments Act (No. 6 of 1923)

Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiquities Act (No. 4 of 1934)

National Monuments Act (No. 28 of 1969)

ONLINE SOURCES:

http://www.potteryhistories.com/wood.html

http://www.potteryhistories.com/wood.html

https://www.glassbottlemarks.com/chesebrough-manufg-co-vaseline-jars/

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APPENDIX A

NATIONAL MONUMENTS STATUS AND MAPS

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, ARTS AND SCIENCE.
No. 1560.] [9 October 1964.

PROCLAMATION OF MONUMENTS.

By virtue of the powers vested in me by paragraph *(a)* of sub-section (1) of section *eight* of the Natural and Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques Act, 1934 (Act No.4 of 1934), as amended, I hereby proclaim the Corbelled Houses on the farms Gorras, Arbeidersfontein and Schuinshoogte, Division of Fraserburg, Province of the Cape of Good Hope, to be historical monuments.

DESCRIPTION.
Corbelled Houses.
1. On the farm Gorras, Division of Fraserburg, Province *or* the Cape of Good Hope, as shown on diagram S.G. No. 809/63 of 2nd March,1963.
2. On the farm Arbeidersfontein, Division of Fraserburg, Province of the Cape of Good Hope, as shown on diagram S.G. No. 3094/63 of 24th July, 1963.
3. On the farm Schuinshoogte, Division of Fraserburg, Province of the Cape of Good Hope, as shown on diagram S.G. No. 3093/63 of 24th July. 1963.

HISTORICAL INTEREST.
These peculiar corbelled houses are examples of the ingenuity of the first settlers in this area and are important relics of the architectural history, Cultural and National, in South Africa.

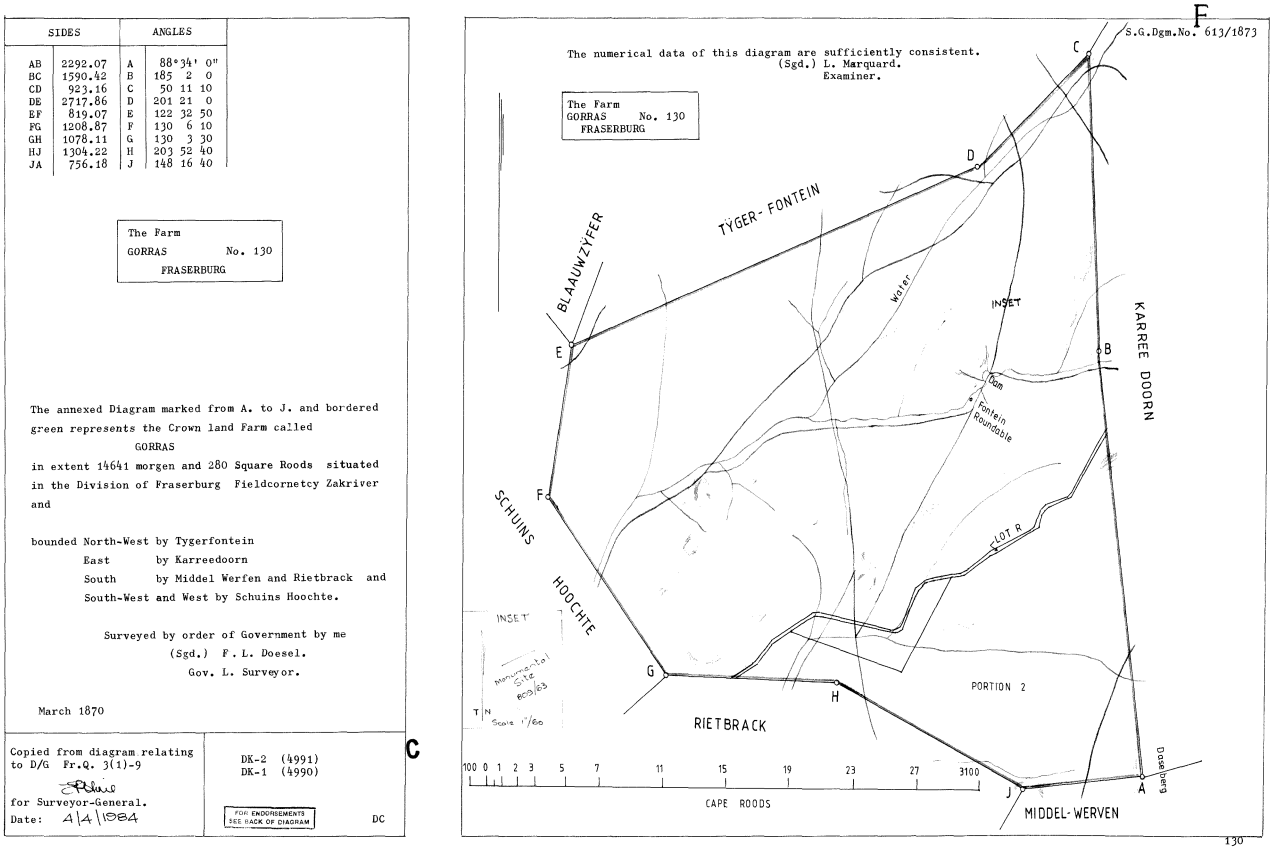
M. VILJOEN.
Deputy Minister of Education. Arts and Science.

Figure A.1. National Monuments proclamations of Monuments (Gorras farm, Arbeidersfontein farm and Schuinshoogte)

THE FOLLOWING DEDUCTIONS HAVE BEEN MADE FROM THIS DIAGRAM.

Survey Records.	Diag. No.	Subdivision.	Mor. SqRds.	Deed.
	1808/1918	Ptn 1.(CWR 14)	30 464	1919-175-10743
£504/55	2496/55	Ptn.2.	3239.0587	1956- -11521

Figure A.2. Excerpt with deductions and portions of Gorras farm from the survey diagram of 1873.



SIDES		ANGLES	
AB	2292.07	A	88°34' 0"
BC	1590.42	B	185 2 0
CD	923.16	C	50 11 10
DE	2717.86	D	201 21 0
EF	819.07	E	122 32 50
FG	1208.87	F	130 6 10
GH	1078.11	G	130 3 30
HJ	1304.22	H	203 52 40
JA	756.18	J	148 16 40

The Farm
GORRAS No. 130
FRASERBURG

The annexed Diagram marked from A. to J. and bordered green represents the Crown land Farm called
GORRAS
in extent 14641 morgen and 280 Square Roods situated in the Division of Fraserburg Fieldcornetcy Zakriver and

bounded North-West by Tygerfontein
East by Karreedoorn
South by Middel Werfen and Rietbrack and
South-West and West by Schuins Hoochte.

Surveyed by order of Government by me
(Sgd.) F. L. Doesel.
Gov. L. Surveyor.

March 1870

Copied from diagram relating to D/G Fr.Q. 3(1)-9
for Surveyor-General.
Date: 4/4/1984

DK-2 (4991)
DK-1 (4990)

FOR ENDORSEMENTS SEE BACK OF DIAGRAM

DC

The numerical data of this diagram are sufficiently consistent.
(Sgd.) L. Marquard.
Examiner.

S.G.Dgm.No. 613/1873

The Farm
GORRAS No. 130
FRASERBURG

TYGER-FONTEIN
BLAAUWZYFER
KARREE DOORN
SCHUINS HOOCHTE
RIETBRACK
MIDDEL-WERVEN
PORTION 2
LOT R
INSET
Water
Dam
Fontein
Roundable
Monumental Site
Scale 1"/60
CAPE ROODS
Doesberg

130

Figure A.3. Survey diagram of Gorras farm 1873 (Surveyor General F613/1873 Page 1).

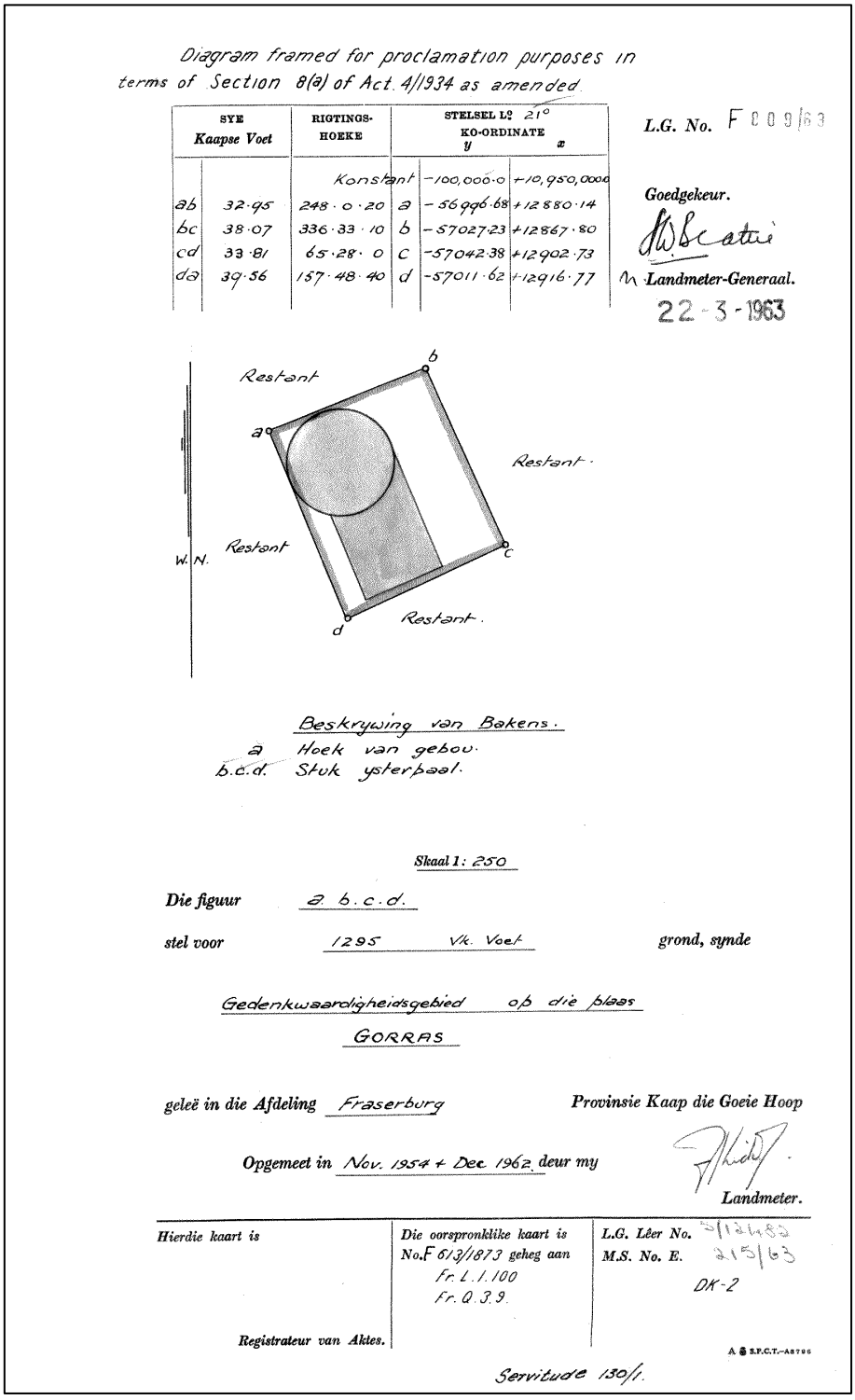


Diagram framed for proclamation purposes in terms of Section 8(a) of Act 4/1934 as amended

SYE Kaapse Voet		RIGTINGS-HOEKE	STELSEL L2 21° KO-ORDINATE y	x
		Konstant	-100,000·0	+10,950,000
ab	32·95	248·0·20	a -56996·68	+12880·14
bc	38·07	336·33·10	b -57027·23	+12867·80
cd	33·81	65·28·0	c -57042·38	+12902·73
da	39·56	157·48·40	d -57011·62	+12916·77

L.G. No. F 609/63

Goedgekeur.

Landmeter-Generaal.

22-3-1963

Beskrywing van Bakens.

a Hoek van gebou.
b.c.d. Stuk ysterpaal.

Skaal 1: 250

Die figuur a. b. c. d.

stel voor 1295 Vk. Voet grond, synde

Gedenkwaardigheidsgebied op die plaas GORRAS

geleë in die Afdeling Fraserburg Provinsie Kaap die Goeie Hoop

Opgemeet in Nov. 1954 + Dec 1962 deur my

Landmeter.

Hierdie kaart is	Die oorspronklike kaart is No. F 613/1873 geheg aan Fr. L. I. 100 Fr. O. 3. 9.	L.G. Léer No. 5/12483 M.S. No. E. 215/63 DK-2
Registrateur van Aktes.		

A S.P.C.T.-A8796

Servitude 130/1.

Figure A.4. Excerpt from Gorras survey diagram with proclamation of Gorras I dimensions and details (Surveyor General F613/1873 page 2).

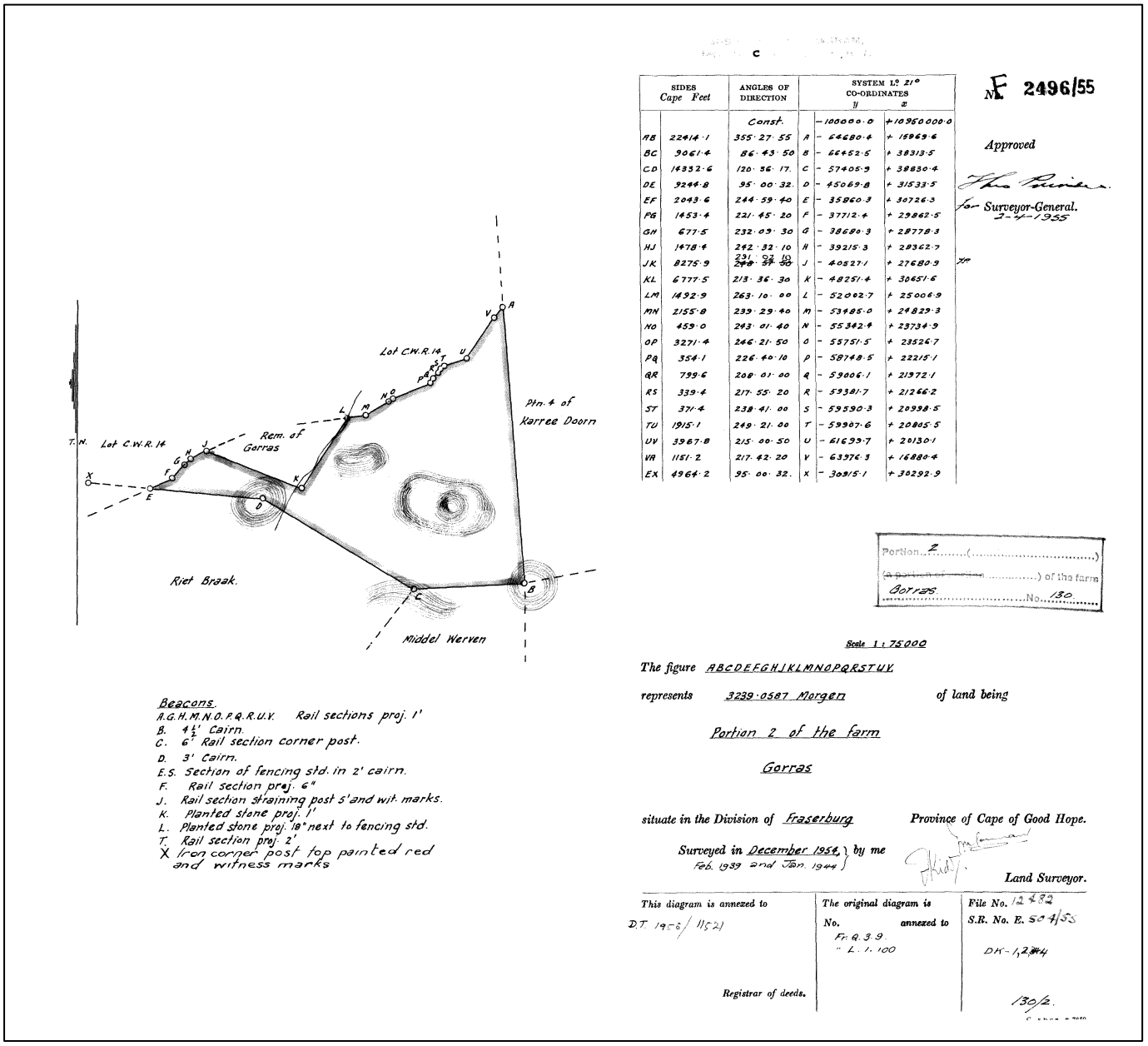


Figure A.5. Gorras farm portion 2 details (Surveyor general: F613/1873 – Page 3).

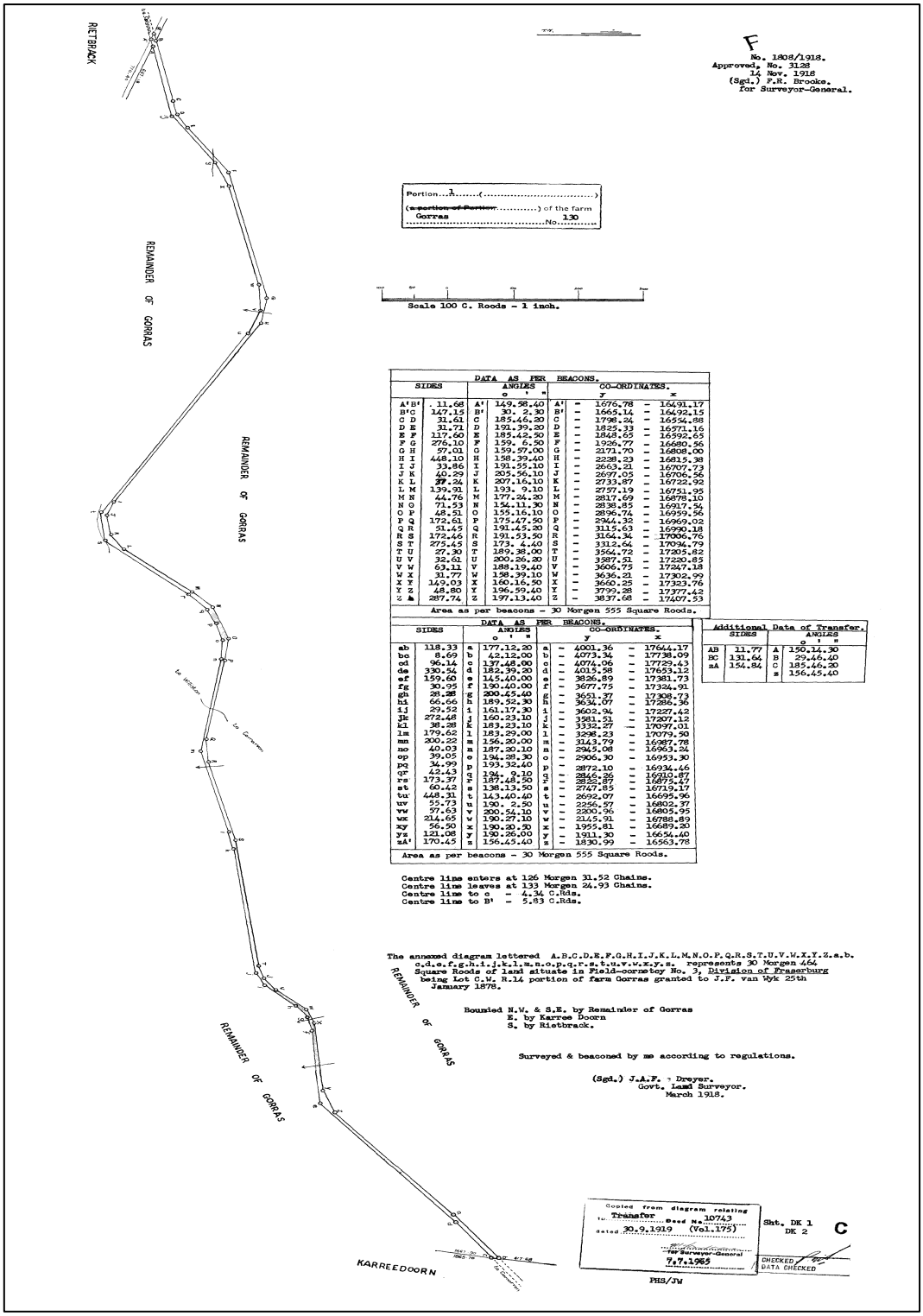


Figure A.6. Gorras fam portion 2 details (Surveyor General: F613/1873 – page 4).

RONDAWELS.

Report by Magistrate, Williston dated 30/12/1958.

I visited the rondawel on the farm Arbeidsfontein of Mr. H. de W. Esterhuyse.

I enclose a photograph of the rondavel which please return.

This rondavel is built rectangular to roof height and then conically towards a point. The interior is more conical than the exterior.

The whole is built of natural flat stones placed upon one another, narrowing gradually so that at the top there is only a small opening. The opening is closed by a few large flat stones which rest on two wooden beams.

On the outside round the roof the flat stones protrude in such a way that scaffolding can be placed on them. Between the stones clay has been worked in to close the openings but the construction of the stones holds the building together. The walls at the base are very thick - 28 inches, and the building is 18ft. diameter at the base and 21ft. high. There are two small windows and a stable door. The only timber in the building is the jambs and the two beams about 4ft. long on which the topmost flat stones rest.

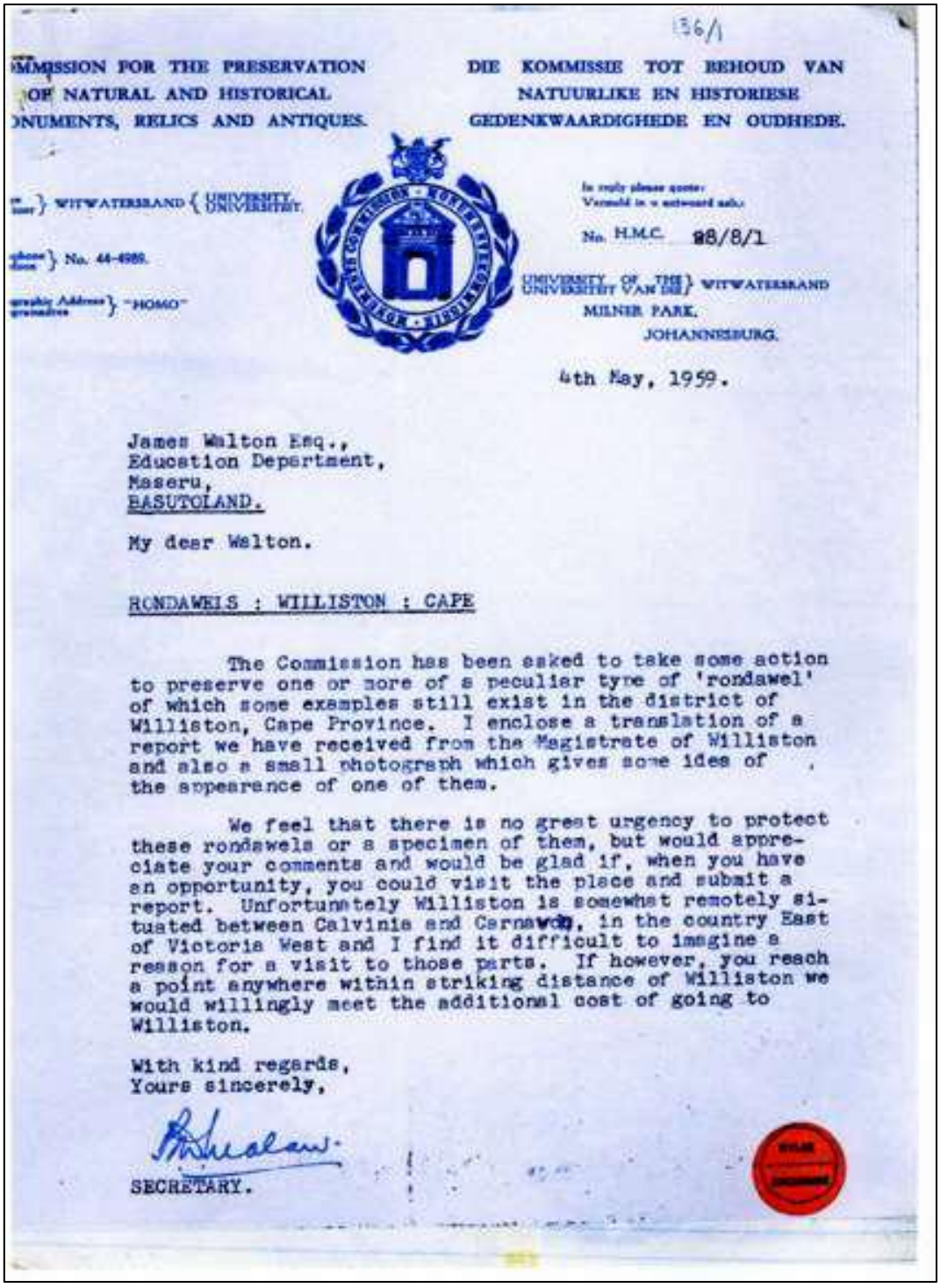
This rondavel is said to be 80 years old. Bricks, cement and lime were unknown in these parts and the abundant stone of the area was used. The rondavels were built so high for the sake of coolness. This area gets tremendously hot in summer.

The owner of the rondavel on Schuinshoofte is Mr. G.S. Esterhuyse. I did not visit this farm but ascertained that it is similar but circular from the bottom up. Both rondavels are well built, in good condition and can stand for a very long time.

D. DE V.J. VAN RENSBURG.

Magistrate of Williston

Figure A. 7. Williston Magistrate report on corbelled houses.



136/1

MMISSION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF NATURAL AND HISTORICAL ONUMENTS, RELICS AND ANTIQUES.

DIE KOMMISSIE TOT BEHOUD VAN NATUURLIKE EN HISTORIESE GEDENKWAARDIGHEDE EN OUDHEDE.

} WITWATERSRAND { UNIVERSITY UNIVERSITEIT

} No. 44-4988.

} "HOMCO"

In reply please quote:
Vermeld in u antwoord asb.:

No. H.M.C. 28/8/1

UNIVERSITY OF THE } WITWATERSRAND
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE }
MILNER PARK,
JOHANNESBURG.

4th May, 1959.

James Walton Esq.,
Education Department,
Maseru,
BASUTOLAND.

My dear Walton.

RONDAWELS : WILLISTON : CAPE

The Commission has been asked to take some action to preserve one or more of a peculiar type of 'rondawel' of which some examples still exist in the district of Williston, Cape Province. I enclose a translation of a report we have received from the Magistrate of Williston and also a small photograph which gives some idea of the appearence of one of them.

We feel that there is no great urgency to protect these rondawels or a specimen of them, but would appreciate your comments and would be glad if, when you have an opportunity, you could visit the place and submit a report. Unfortunately Williston is somewhat remotely situated between Calvinia and Carnarvon, in the country East of Victoria West and I find it difficult to imagine a reason for a visit to those parts. If however, you reach a point anywhere within striking distance of Williston we would willingly meet the additional cost of going to Williston.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,

SECRETARY.

Figure A.8. Commission to James Walton to investigate Williston corbelled houses by the Commission for the preservation of Natural, Historical Monuments, Relics and Antiques.

Figure A.9. Gorras I View I (Walton 1960).

Figure A.10. Gorras I view 2 (Walton 1960).

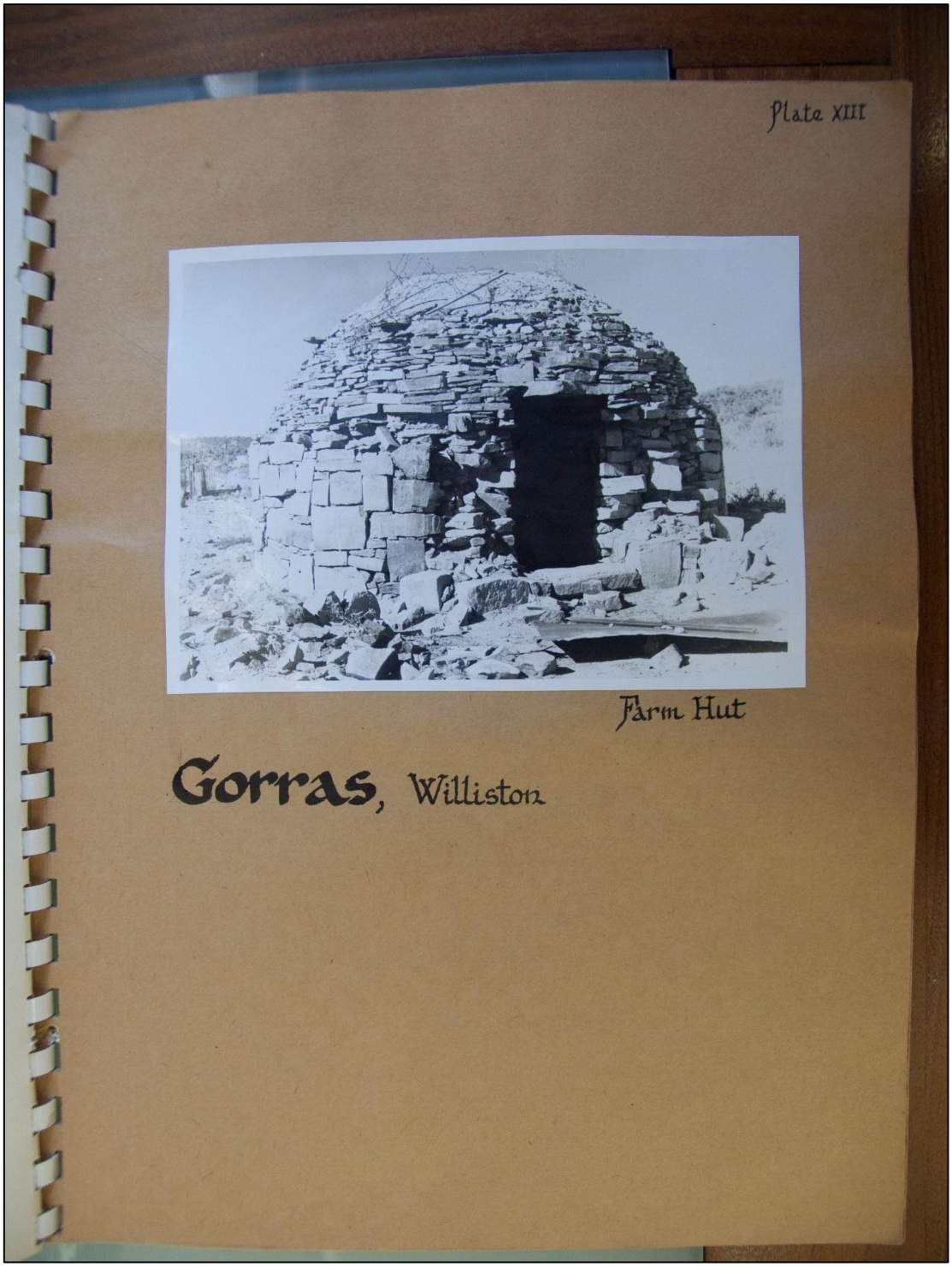


Figure A.11. Gorras IV (Walton 1960).

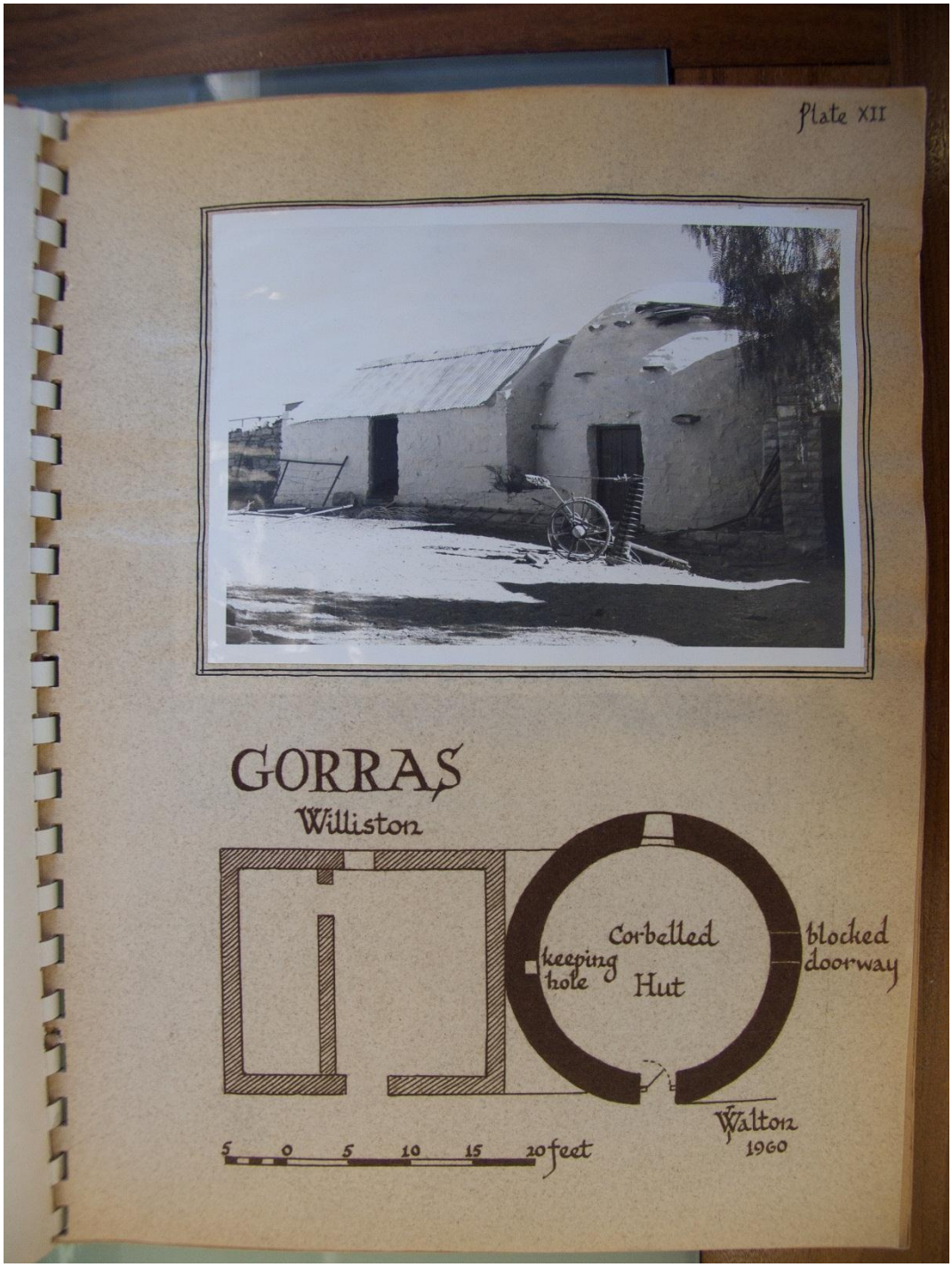
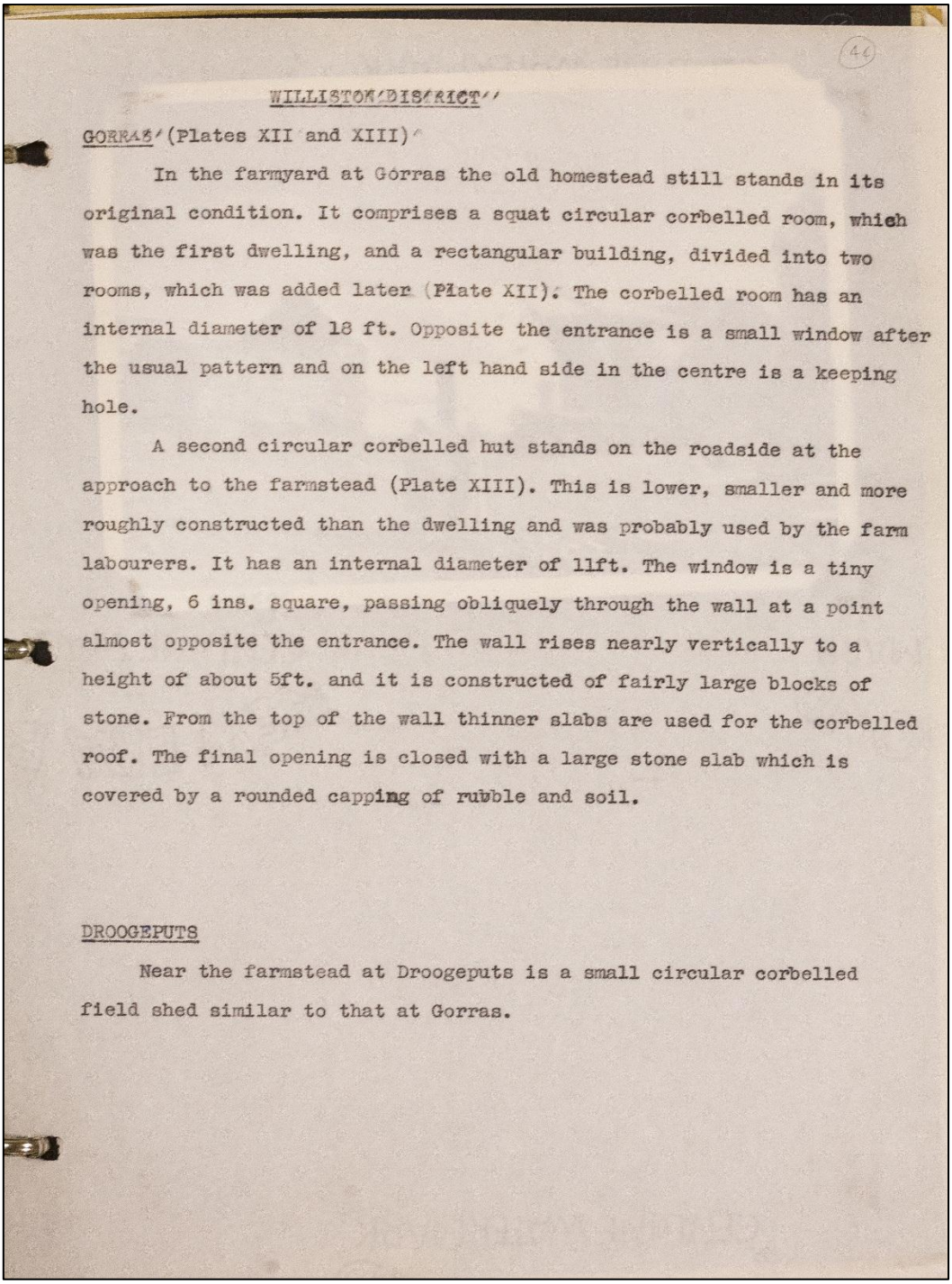


Figure A.12. Gorras I photograph and plan (Walton 1960).



WILLISTON DISTRICT

GORRAS (Plates XII and XIII)

In the farmyard at Gorras the old homestead still stands in its original condition. It comprises a squat circular corbelled room, which was the first dwelling, and a rectangular building, divided into two rooms, which was added later (Plate XII). The corbelled room has an internal diameter of 18 ft. Opposite the entrance is a small window after the usual pattern and on the left hand side in the centre is a keeping hole.

A second circular corbelled hut stands on the roadside at the approach to the farmstead (Plate XIII). This is lower, smaller and more roughly constructed than the dwelling and was probably used by the farm labourers. It has an internal diameter of 11ft. The window is a tiny opening, 6 ins. square, passing obliquely through the wall at a point almost opposite the entrance. The wall rises nearly vertically to a height of about 5ft. and it is constructed of fairly large blocks of stone. From the top of the wall thinner slabs are used for the corbelled roof. The final opening is closed with a large stone slab which is covered by a rounded capping of rubble and soil.

DROOGEPUTS

Near the farmstead at Droogeputs is a small circular corbelled field shed similar to that at Gorras.

Figure A.13. Walton 1960 text on Gorras.

APPENDIX B:

WALTON PHOTOGRAPHS AND OTHER HISTORIC PHOTOGRAPHS LINKED TO CORBELLED HOUSES AND MATJIESHUISES.

Figure B.1. Nama shelter (matjieshuis) in Leliefontein by James Walton.

Figure B.2. Framework of a matjieshuis photograph by James Walton.

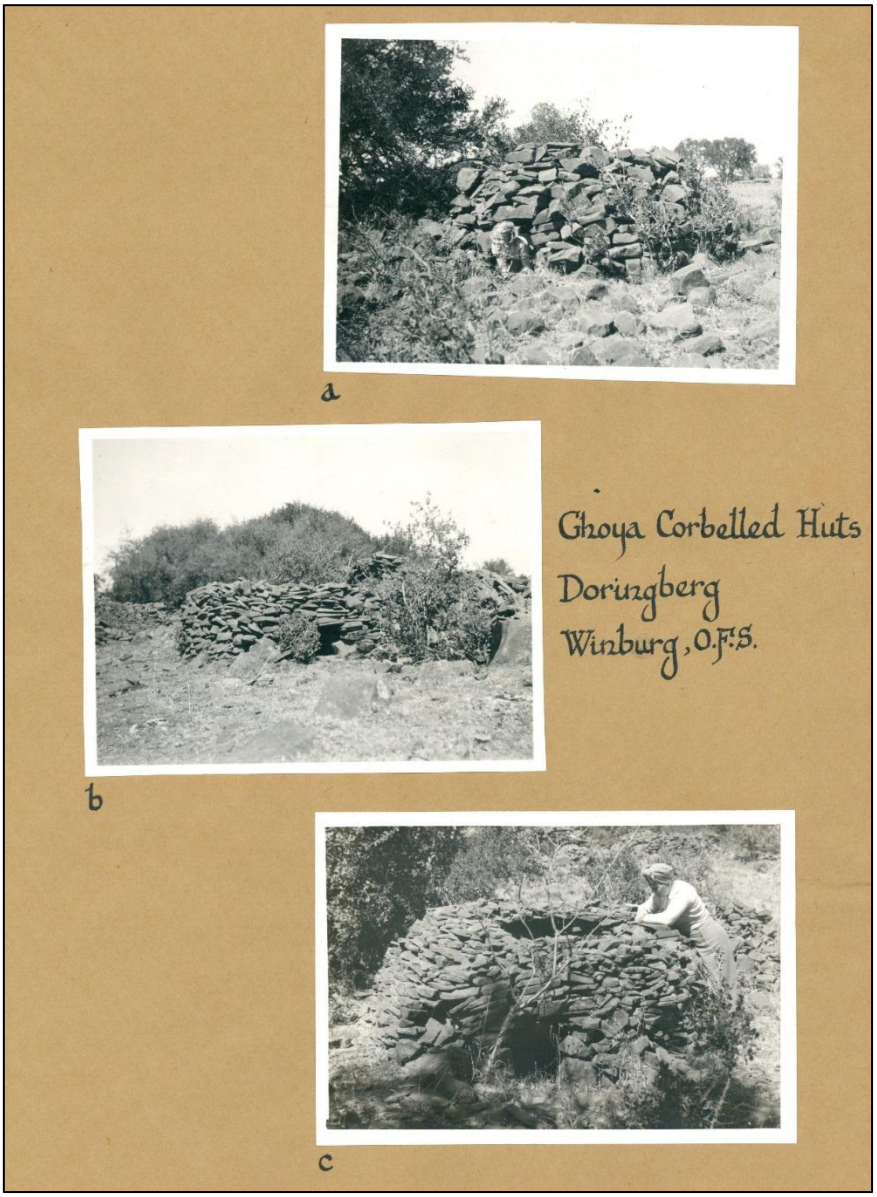


Figure B.3. Corbelled huts from the Free State photographed by James Walton.

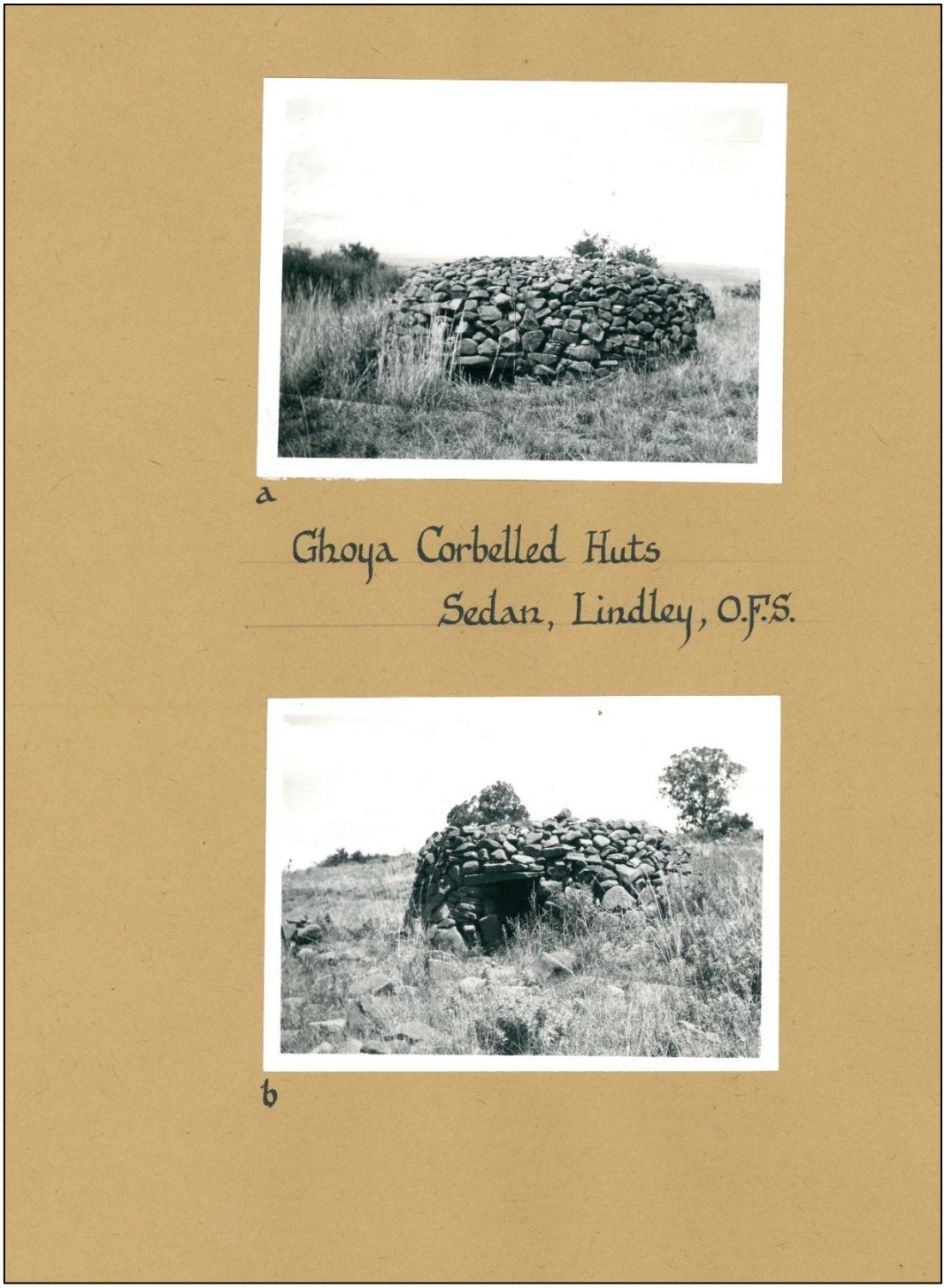


Figure B.4. Free State corbelled huts photographed by James Walton.

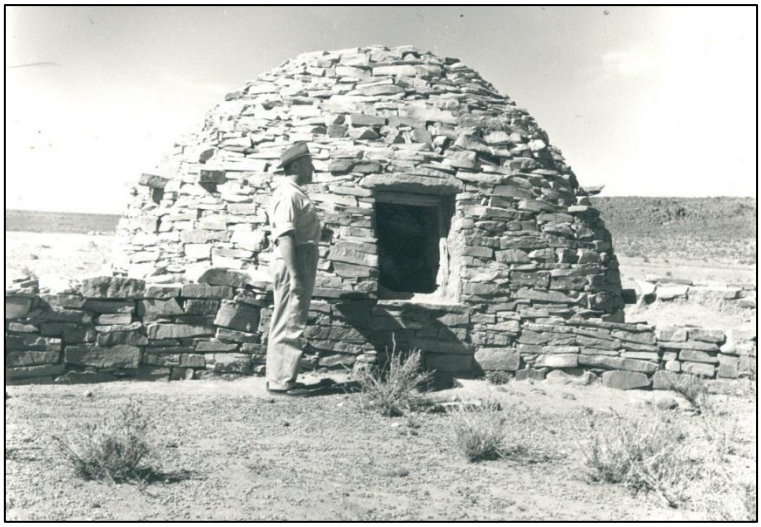
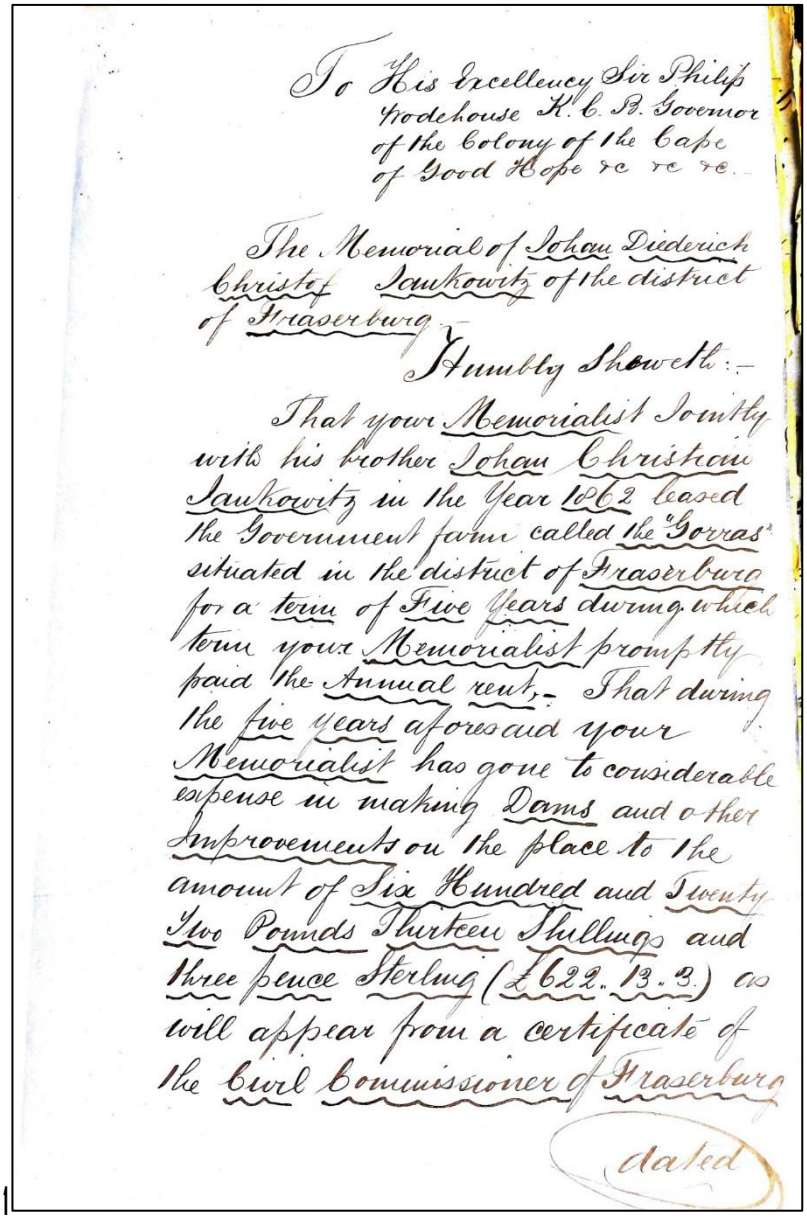


Figure B.5. Stuurmansfontein Williston Corbelled house photography by James Walton.

APPENDIX C:

GORRAS ARCHIVAL INFORMATION

PART ONE: JDC AND JC JANKOWITZ OCCUPATION

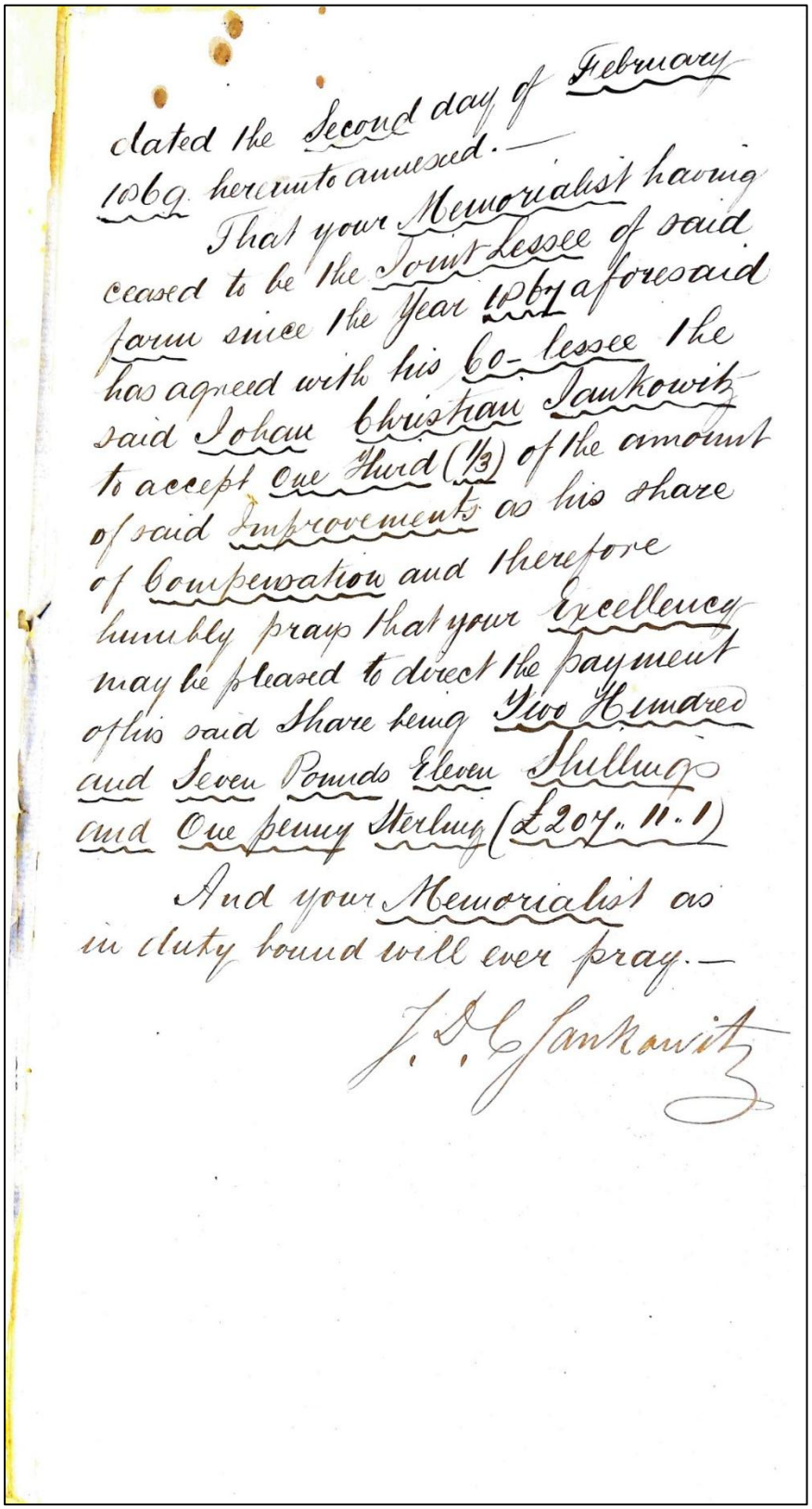


To His Excellency Sir Philip Wodehouse K.C.B. Governor of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope &c &c &c.

The Memorial of Johan Diderich Christof Jankowitz of the district of Fraserburg

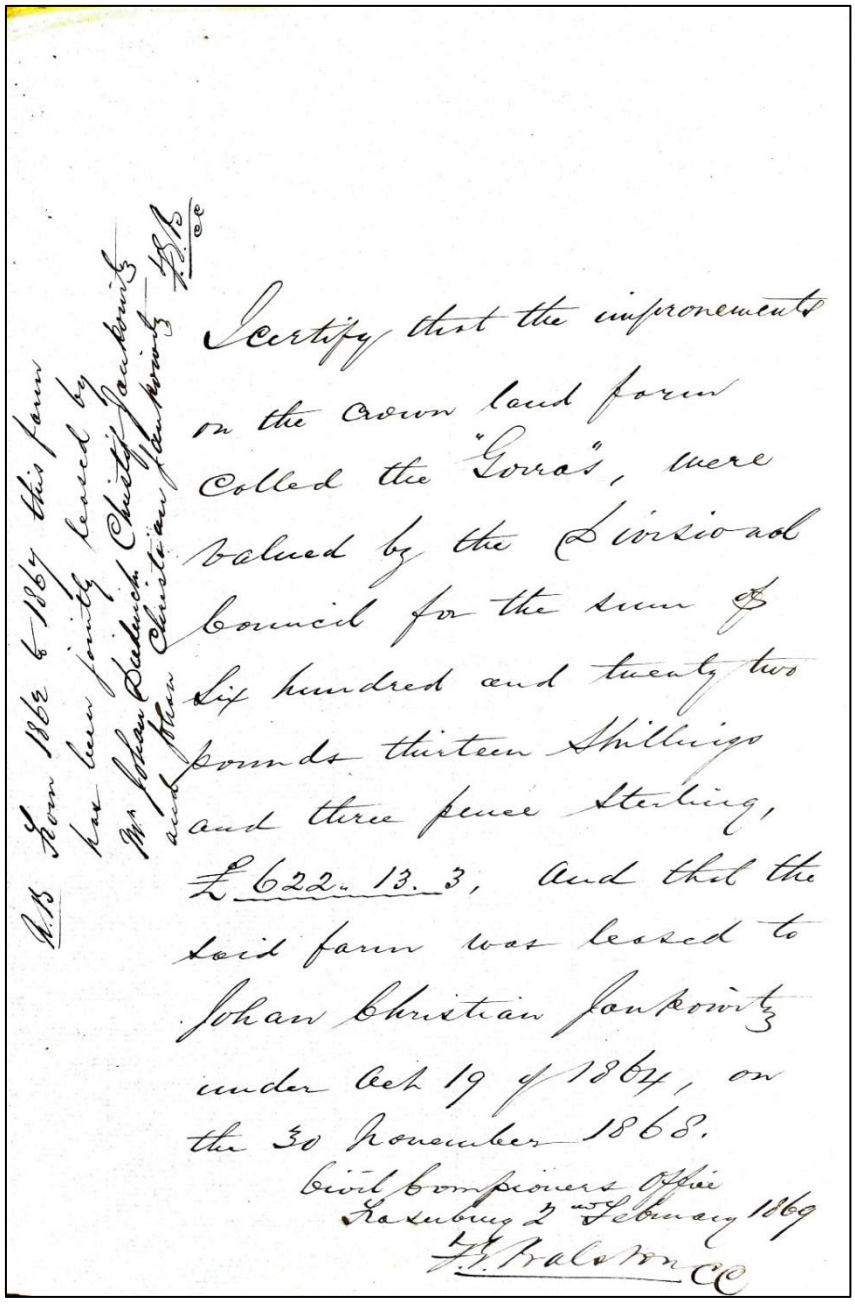
Humbly Sheweth:-

That your Memorialist Jointly with his brother Johan Christian Jankowitz in the Year 1862 leased the Government farm called the "Gorras" situated in the district of Fraserburg for a term of Five Years during which term your Memorialist promptly paid the Annual rent.- That during the five years aforesaid your Memorialist has gone to considerable expense in making Dams and other Improvements on the place to the amount of Six Hundred and Twenty Two Pounds Thirteen Shillings and three pence Sterling (£622.13.3) as will appear from a certificate of the Civil Commissioner of Fraserburg dated



dated the Second day of February
1869 hereunto annexed.—
That your Memorialist having
ceased to be the Joint Lessee of said
farm since the Year 1867 aforesaid
has agreed with his Co-lessee the
said Johan Christian Jankowitz
to accept One Third (⅓) of the amount
of said Improvements as his share
of Compensation and therefore
humbly prays that your Excellency
may be pleased to direct the payment
of this said Share being Two Hundred
and Seven Pounds Eleven Shillings
and One penny Sterling (£207. 11. 1)
And your Memorialist as
in duty bound will ever pray.—
J. D. C. Jankowitz

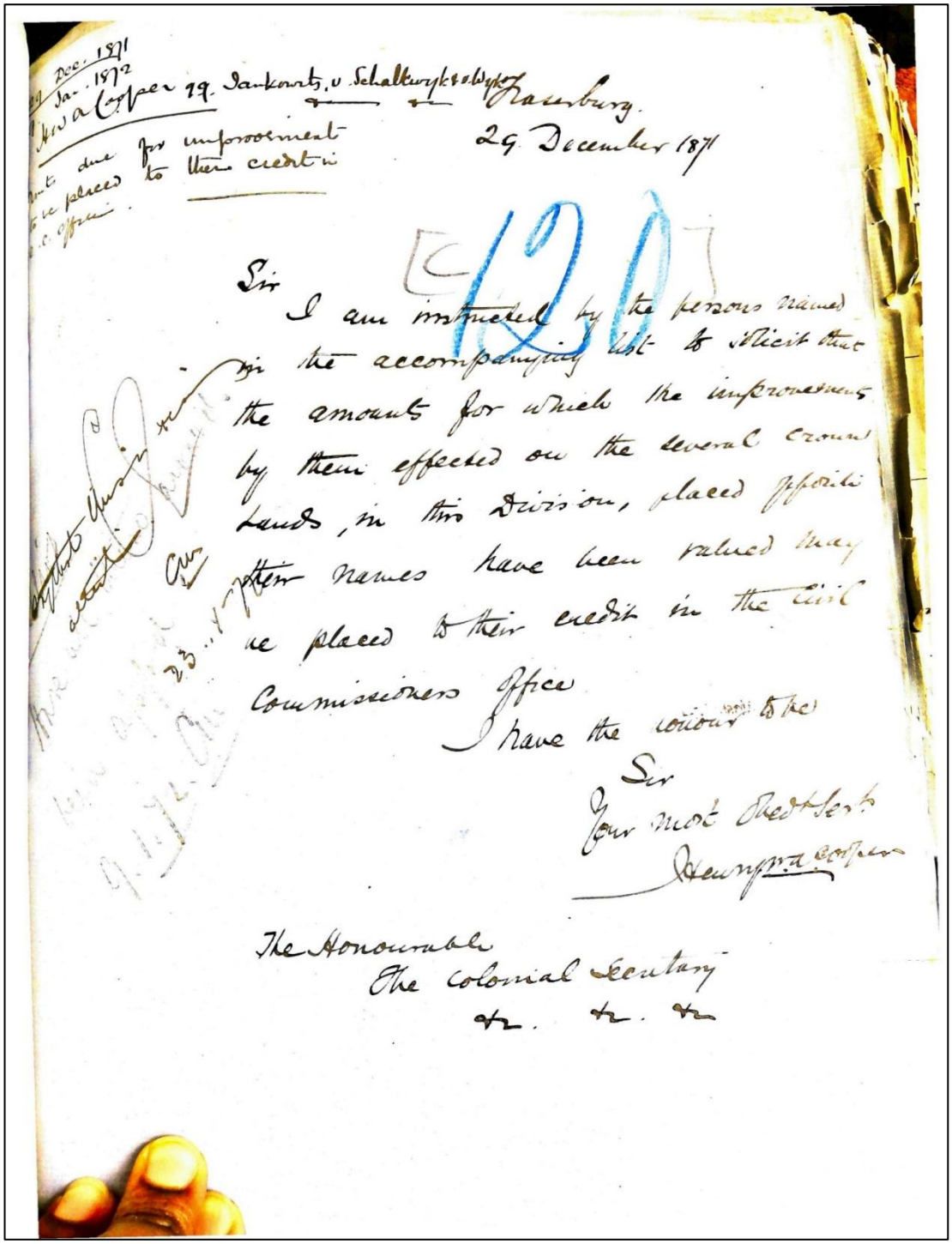
Figure C.1. Letter by JDC Jankowitz requesting refund for his portion of



I certify that the improvements on the crown land farm called the "Gorras", were valued by the Division board council for the sum of Six hundred and twenty two pounds thirteen Shillings and three pence Sterling, £622.13.3, And that the said farm was leased to Johan Christian Jonkowitz under Act 19 of 1864, on the 30 November 1868.

Civil Commissioners Office
Roseburg 2nd February 1869
H. Balcombe CC

Figure C.2. Accompanying letter to Fig C.1. confirming improvements on Gorras farm.



Dec. 1871
Jan. 1872
Mrs A Cowper 29. Dankaarts. v Schalkwyk & Wyk Kaaburg.
Amts due for improvement
to be placed to their credit in
C. C. Office.

29 December 1871

120

Sir

I am instructed by the persons named in the accompanying list to solicit that the amounts for which the improvements by them effected on the several Crown Lands, in this Division, placed opposite their names have been valued may be placed to their credit in the Civil Commissioners Office

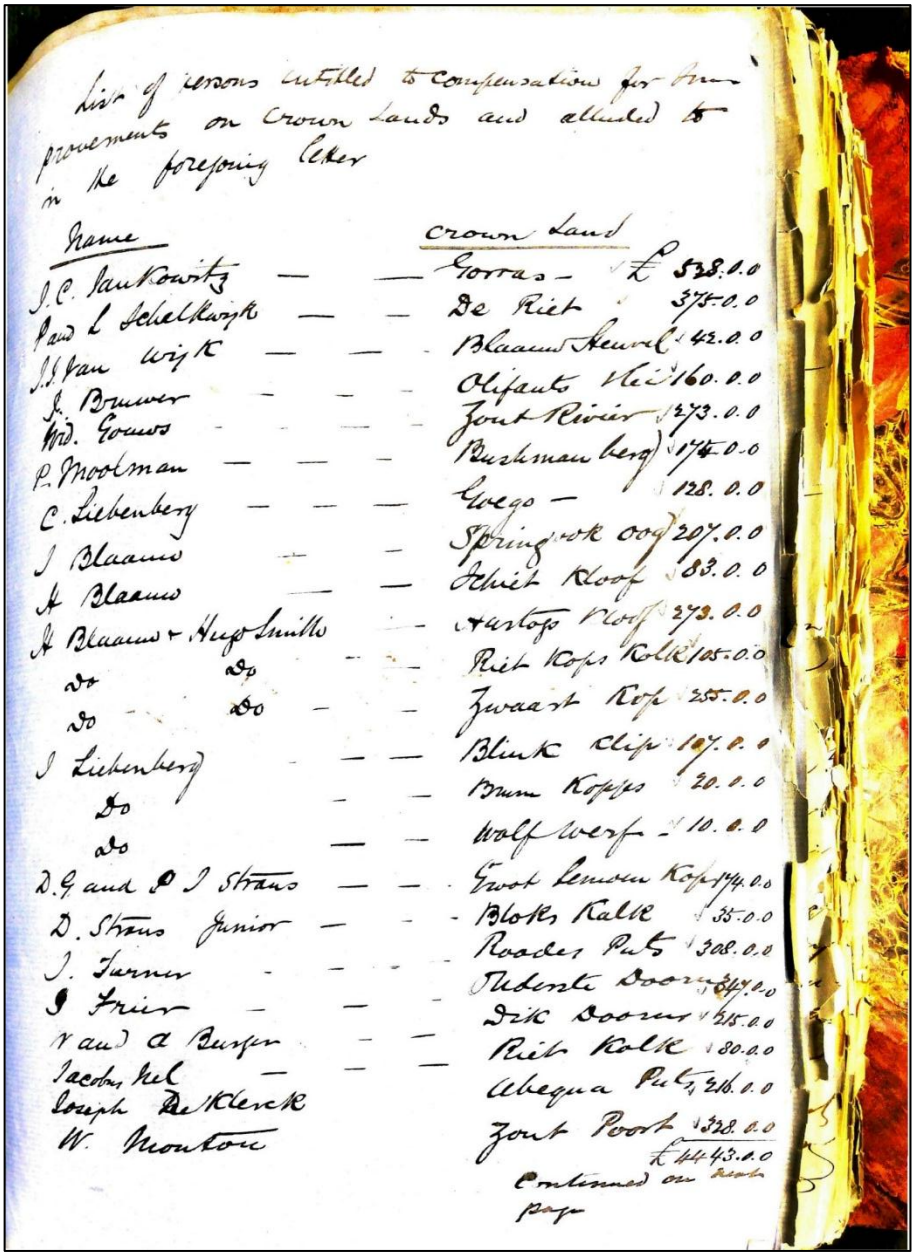
I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most Obedt Servt

Henry Wm Cowper

The Honourable
The Colonial Secretary
&c. &c. &c.



List of persons entitled to Compensation for Improvements on Crown Lands and alluded to in the foregoing Letter

Name	Crown Land	
J.C. Jankowitz	Gorras	£ 538.0.0
Paul L Schelkwyk	De Riet	375.0.0
J.J Van Wijk	Blaaums Kuwil	42.0.0
L. Bouwer	Olifants Vlei	160.0.0
Wd. Gouws	Zout Rivier	273.0.0
P. Moolman	Buckmans berg	174.0.0
C. Liebenberg	Goego	128.0.0
I Blaauw	Springbok oog	207.0.0
A Blaauw	Schiet Kloof	83.0.0
A Blaauw + Hugo Smith	Hartogs Kloof	273.0.0
do do	Riet Kops Kolk	105.0.0
do do	Zwaart Kop	255.0.0
I Liebenberg	Blink klip	107.0.0
do	Bum Kopjes	20.0.0
do	Wolf werf	10.0.0
D.J and P I Strauss	Groot Lemoen Kop	174.0.0
D. Strauss Junior	Blokke Kalk	35.0.0
I. Turner	Roades Puts	308.0.0
J Frier	Tulents Doorn	347.0.0
J and A Burger	Dik Doorn	215.0.0
Jacobs kel	Riet Kalk	80.0.0
Joseph De Klerck	Olifants Puts	216.0.0
W. Morton	Zout Poort	328.0.0
		£ 4443.0.0

Continued on next page

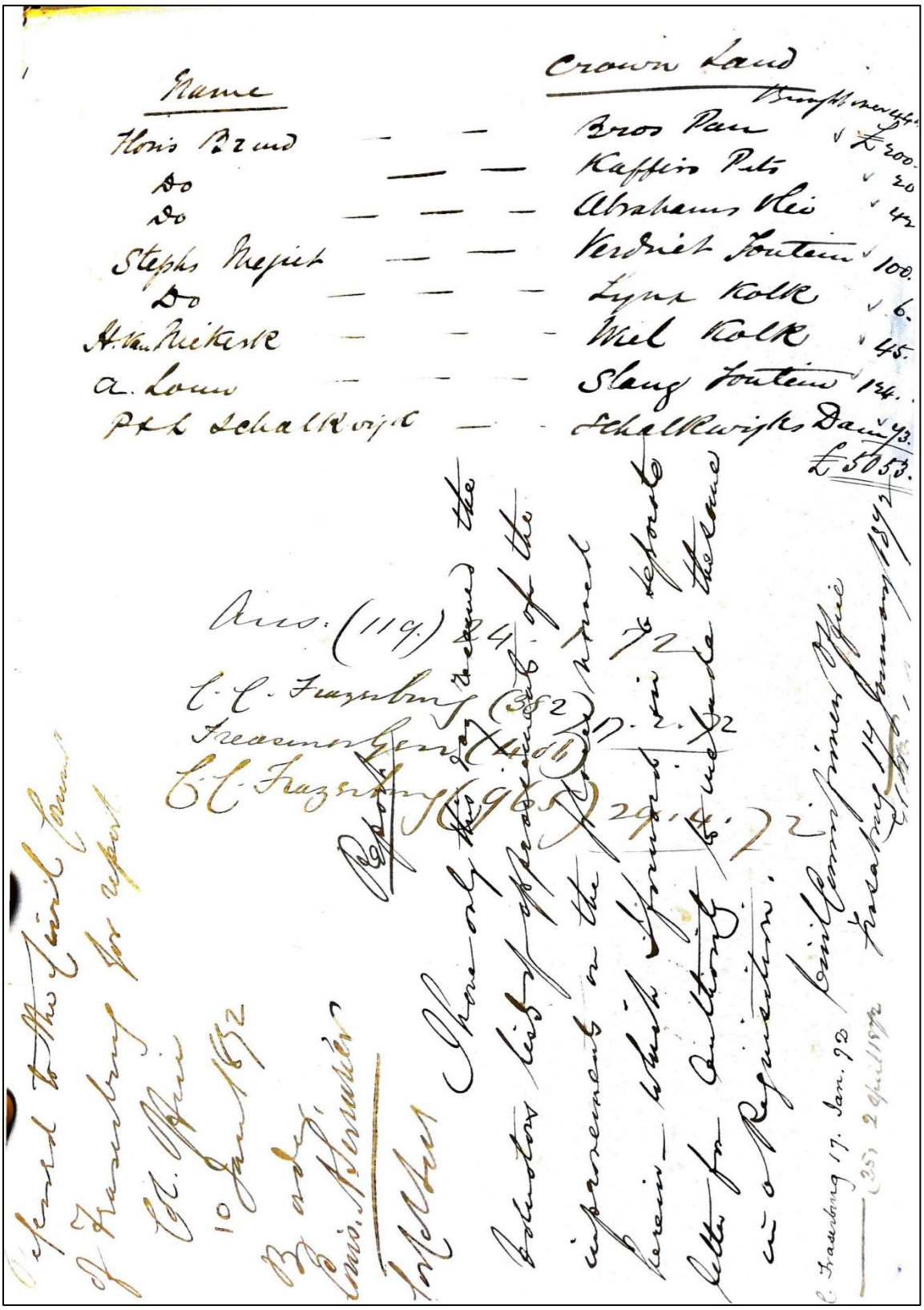
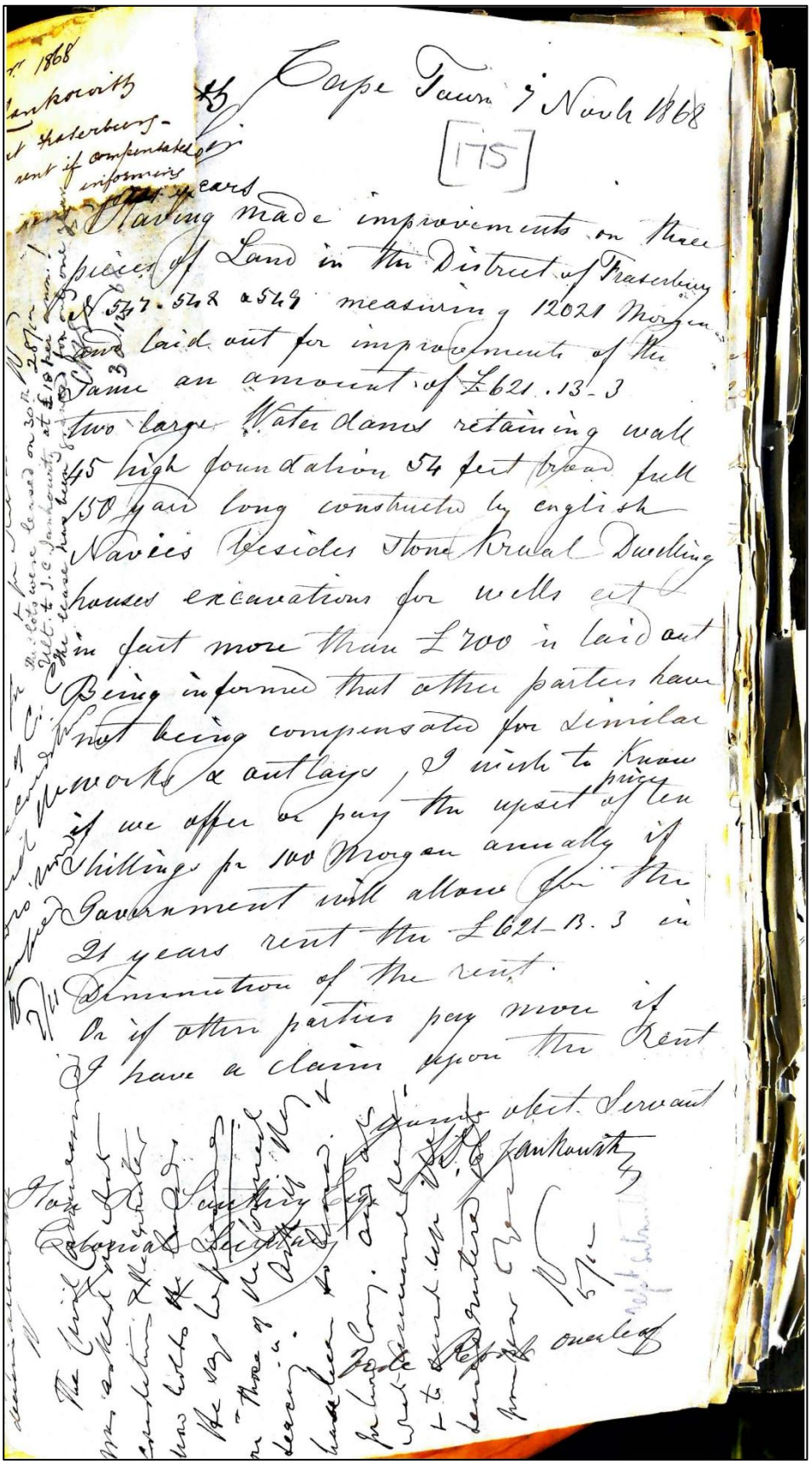


Figure C.3. 1871 Letters with valuations of farms including Gorras.



Cape Town 7 Novr 1868

[75]

Having made improvements on three pieces of Land in the District of Fraserburg No 547. 548 & 549 measuring 12021 Morgen laid out for improvement of the same an amount of £621.13.3 two large Water dams retaining wall 45 high foundation 54 feet broad full 150 yard long constructed by english Navies besides Stone Kraal Dwelling houses excavations for wells etc in fact more than £700 is laid out

Being informed that other parties have not being compensated for similar improvements & outlays, I wish to know if we offer or pay the upset price of Shillings pr 100 Morgen annally if Government will allow for the 21 years rent the £621.13.3 in diminution of the rent.

Or if other parties pay more if I have a claim upon the Rent

I have the honor to be Sir Your obedt. Servant

J. C. Jankowitz

The Civil Commissioner
Colonial Secretary

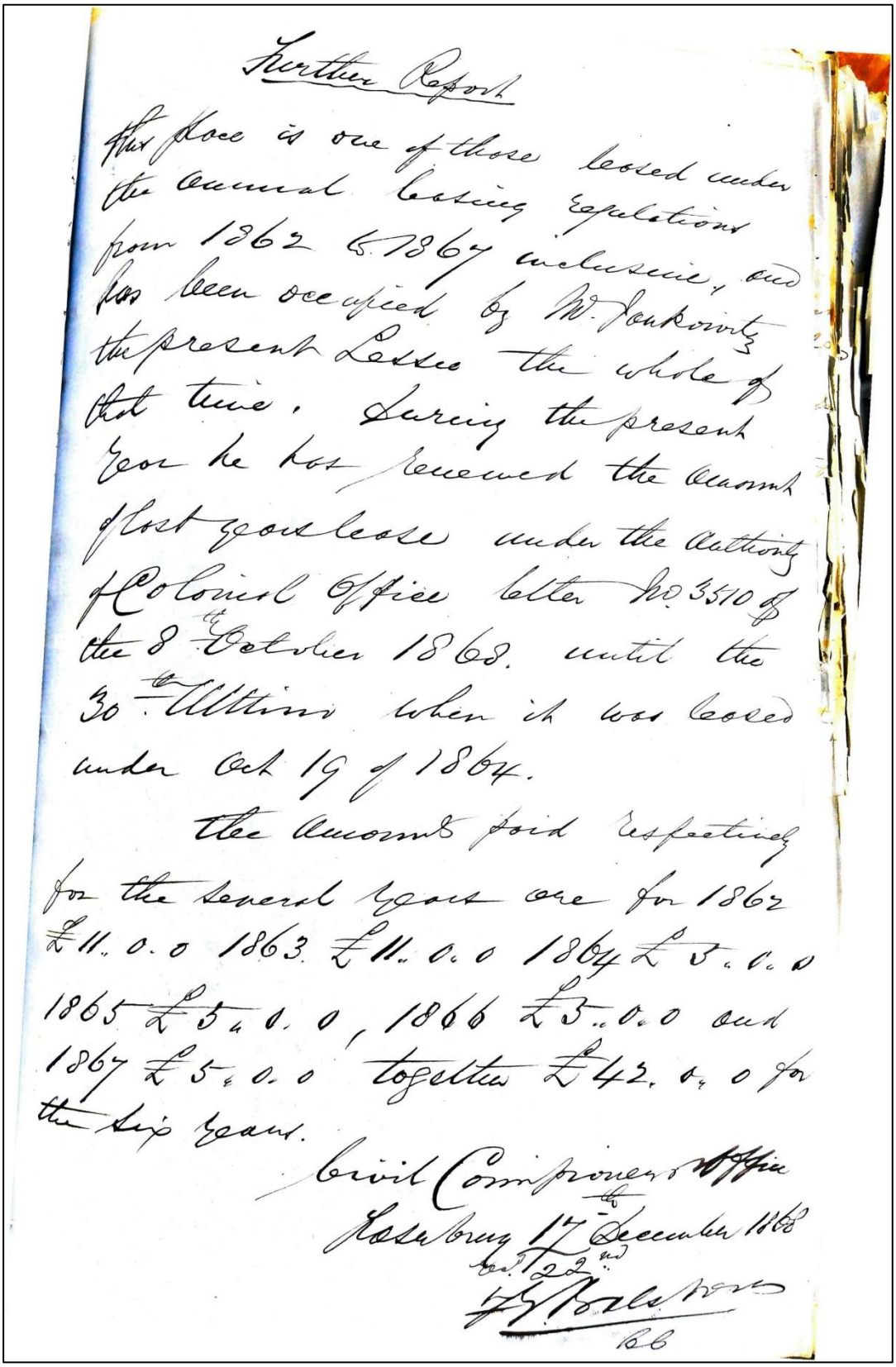
Report

The land herein referred to was put up on the 7th September inst with other lots under Act 19 of 1864, but not leased the conditions upon which it now held are I presume those of the annual leasing, the renewal of which will be paid up to the 30th inst is finally disposed of under Act 19 of 1864 probably on the 30th inst.

The Amount annexed at which the improvements were valued is correct and the improvements of the nature described

Land Commissioners Office
Petersburg 19 Nov. 1864
24

F. Dobson
C.C.



Further Report

This Place is one of those leased under the annual leasing Regulations from 1862 to 1867 inclusive, and has been occupied by W. Jenkins & the present Lessee the whole of that time. During the present Year he has renewed the Amount of last years lease under the Authority of Colonial Office letter No 3510 of the 8th October 1868. until the 30th Ultimo when it was leased under Act 19 of 1864.

The Amounts paid respectively for the several Years are for 1862 £11.0.0 1863 £11.0.0 1864 £5.0.0 1865 £5.0.0, 1866 £5.0.0 and 1867 £5.0.0 together £42.0.0 for the six Years.

Civil Commissioners Office
Roseburg 17th December 1868
Recd 22nd
H. Balston
66

Figure C.4. Listing improvements made to Gorras farm.

Jan Kowitz
Petition under which
Title contingent to
the Farm "Goraas"

Goraas 12th Jany 1870

The Honorable the Colonial Secretary

Sir

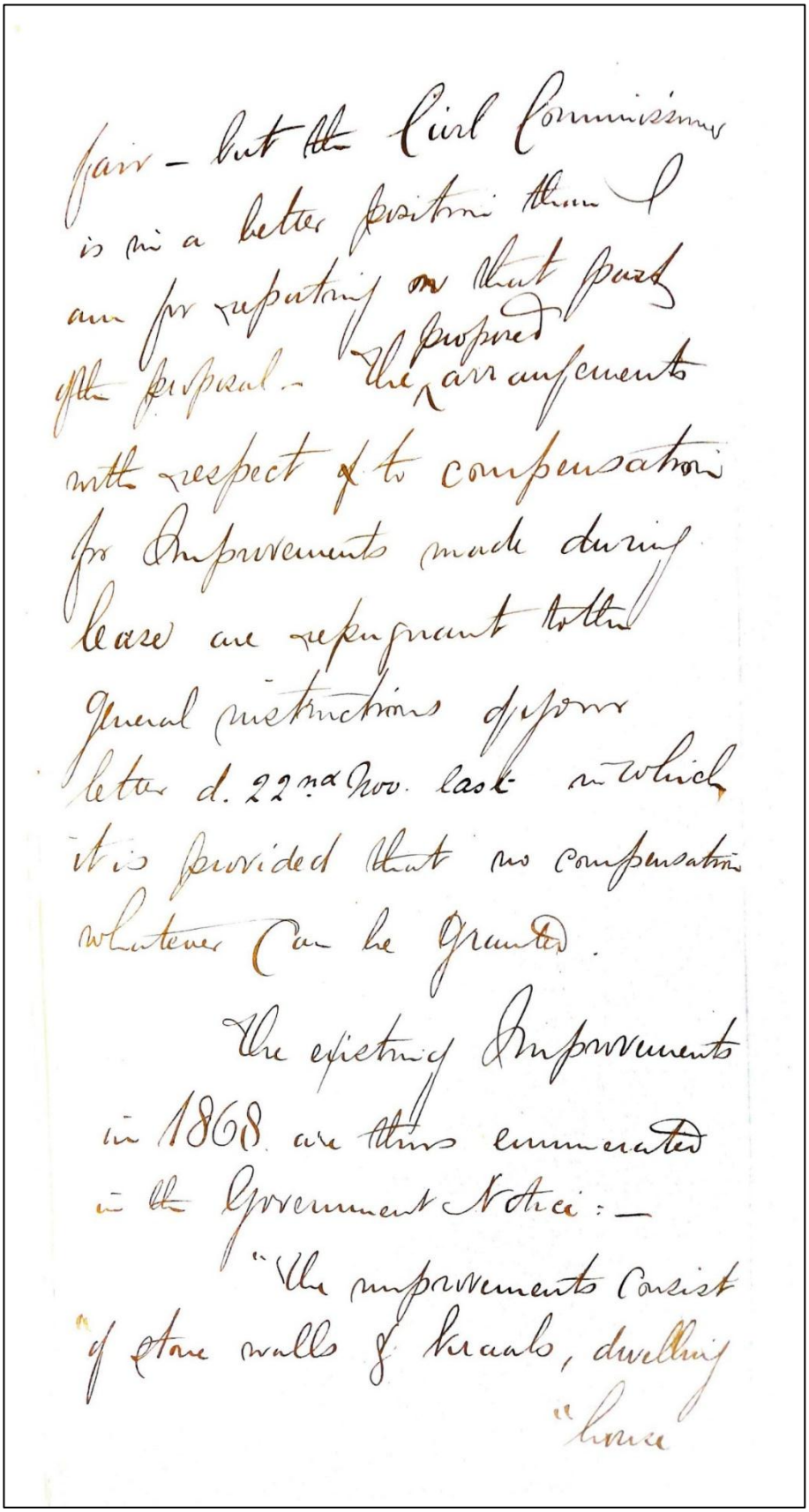
I have been lessee of the Govt Farm "De Goraas" since 1862. and have gone to the extent of my means in effecting improvements which have been valued by order of the Government at £621-13-3- consisting chiefly of Dams and a Dwelling, what I have up to this been able to do, falls far short of what is necessary to make it a good Sheep Farm, and permanent residence as such. Its chief want is water, I have not as yet been successful in opening any permanent spring with the exception of a small one at the homestead about sufficient for Domestic purposes. The Best Dam is capable of containing a supply of water for about 2000 Sheep for six Months, but as it frequently happens that one, and sometimes two years pass without its getting any water, I am often obliged to send my sheep away as is at present the case.

Still I am desirous of retaining the Farm provided I can get it at a moderate rental and then for 21 years (for under present circumstances and the low price of Wool, it is impossible to pay a high rent) on the following terms

1st An annual rental of say £20

2nd Being allowed to go on with improvements, the expediency however of anything of importance I should wish to be first ascertained by some authorized competent Official, to enable me to obtain the authority of the Government to proceed.

3rd

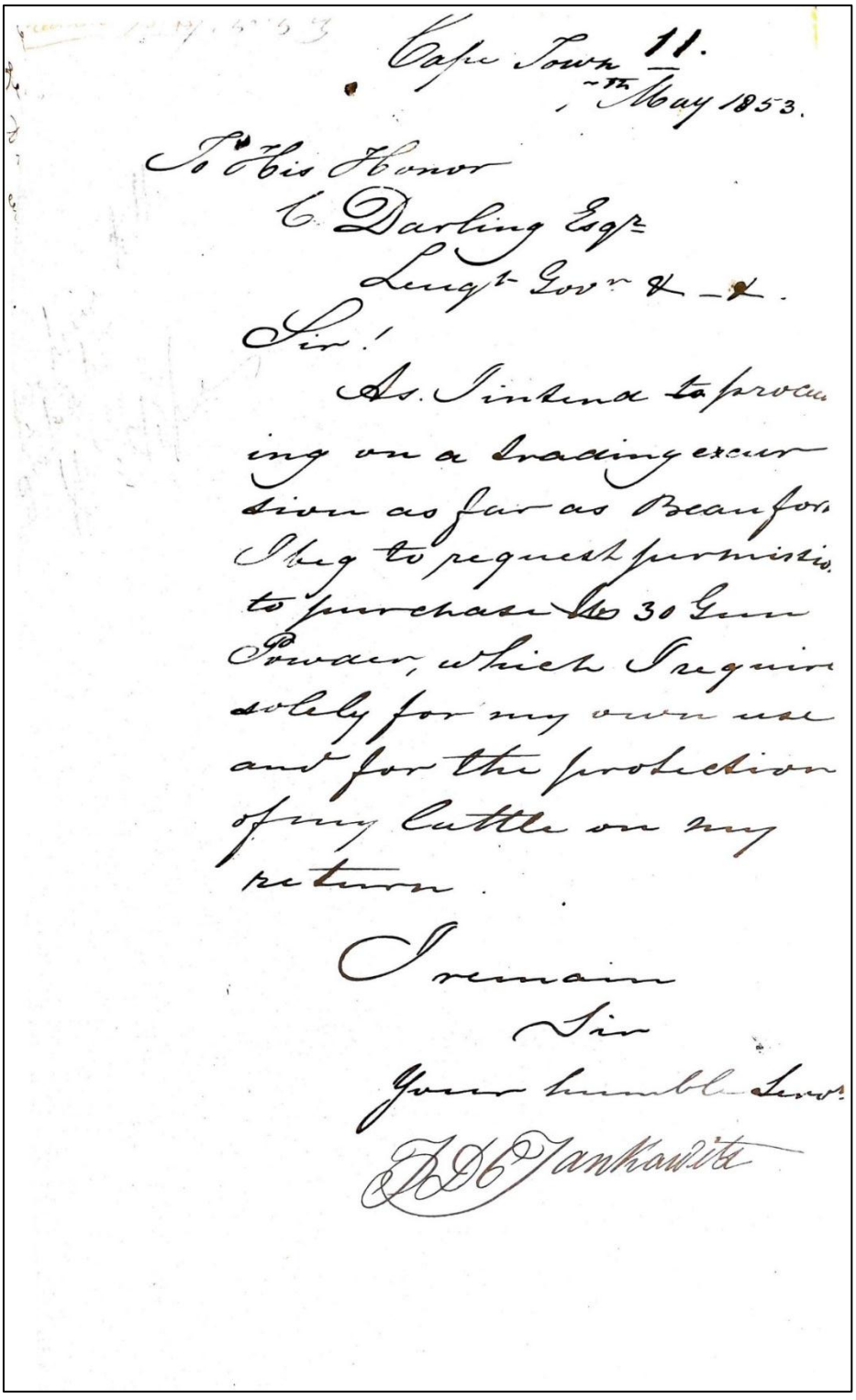


fair – but the Civil Commissioner is in a better position than I am for reporting on that part of the proposal – The proposed arrangements with respect to compensation for Improvements made during lease are repugnant to the General instructions of your letter d. 22nd Nov. last in which it is provided that no compensation whatever can be granted.

The existing Improvements in 1868 are thus enumerated in the Government Notice :–

"The improvements consist "of stone walls & kraals, dwelling "houses

Figure C.5. Letter from JC Jankowitz on further improvements to Gorras.



Cape Town 11th May 1853.

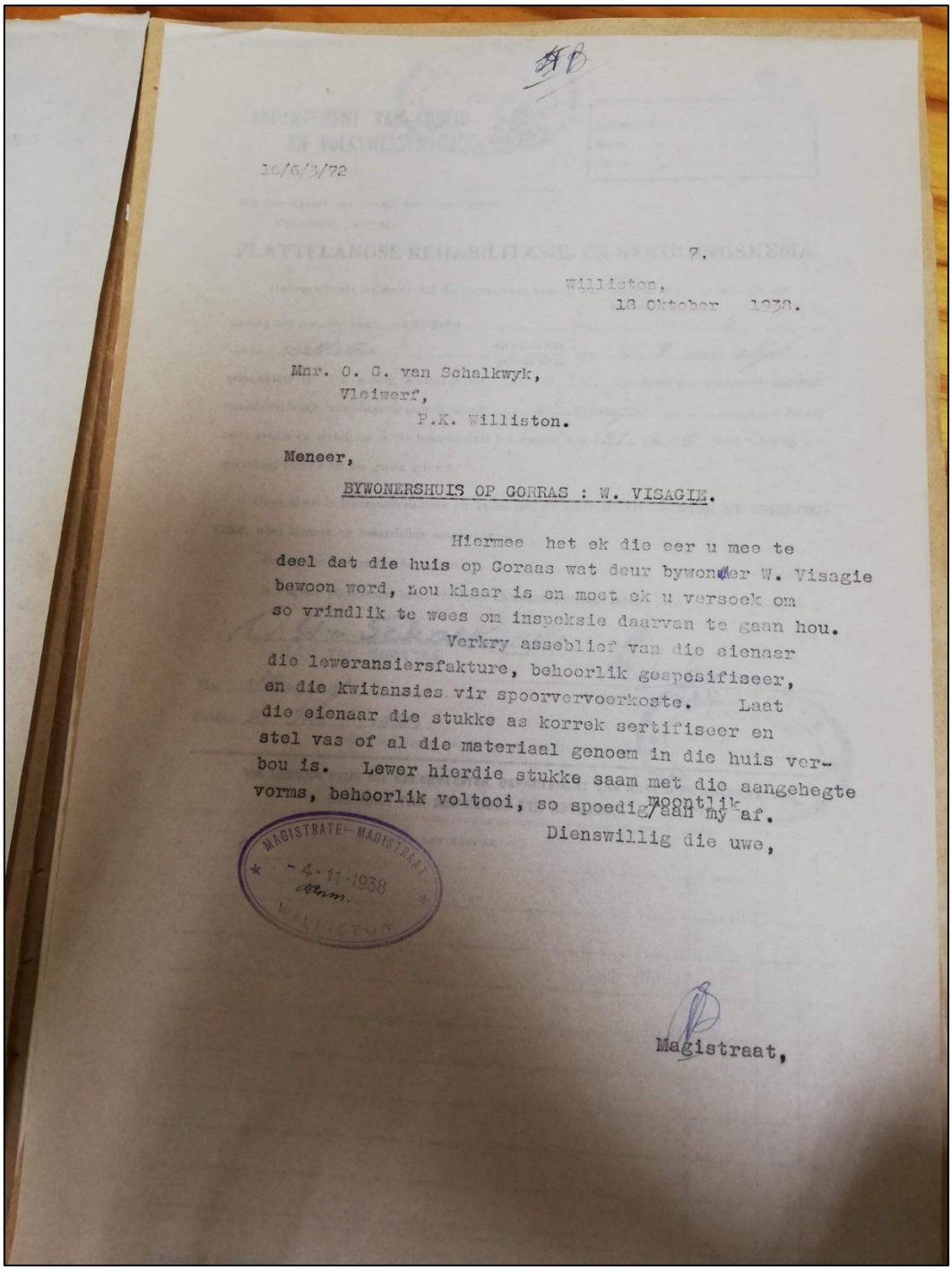
To His Honor
C. Darling Esqr
Lieut. Govr &c &c.

Sir!

As I intend to proceeding on a trading excursion as far as Beaufort I beg to request permission to purchase 30 lbs Gun Powder, which I require solely for my own use and for the protection of my cattle on my return.

I remain
Sir
Your humble Servt
JDC Jankowitz

Figure C.6. Letter requesting permission to purchase gunpowder by JDC Jankowitz



10/6/3/72

7.

Williston,
18 Oktober 1938.

Mnr. O. G. van Schalkwyk,
Vleiwerf,
P.K. Williston.

Meneer,

BYWONERSHUIS OP GORRAS : W. VISAGIE.

Hiermee het ek die eer u mee te deel dat die huis op Goraas wat deur bywoner W. Visagie bewoon word, nou klaar is en moet ek u versoek om so vrindlik te wees om inspeksie daarvan te gaan hou.

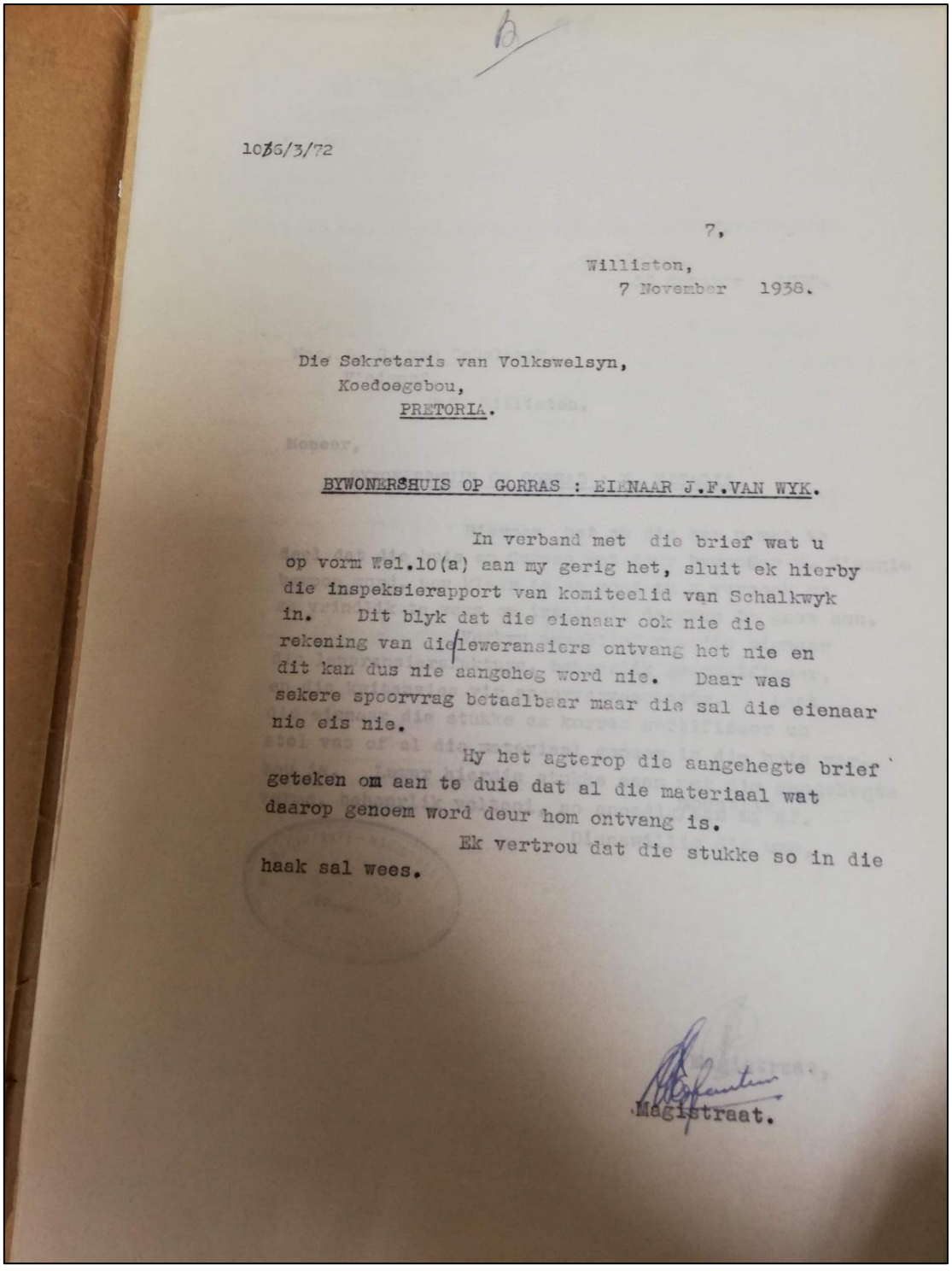
Verkry asseblief van die eienaar die leweransiersfakture, behoorlik gespesifiseer, en die kwitansies vir spoorvervoerkoste. Laat die eienaar die stukke as korrek sertifiseer en stel vas of al die materiaal genoem in die huis verbou is. Lewer hierdie stukke saam met die aangehegte vorms, behoorlik voltooi, so spoedig moontlik aan my af.

Dienswillig die uwe,

MAGISTRATE-MAGISTRAAT
- 4-11-1938
WILLISTON

Magistraat,

Figure C.7. Bywoner rehabilitation letter 1.



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10/6/3/72

7,

Williston,
7 November 1938.

Die Sekretaris van Volkswelsyn,
Koedoegebou,
PRETORIA.

Meneer,

BYWONERSHUIS OP GORRAS : EIENAAR J.F.VAN WYK.

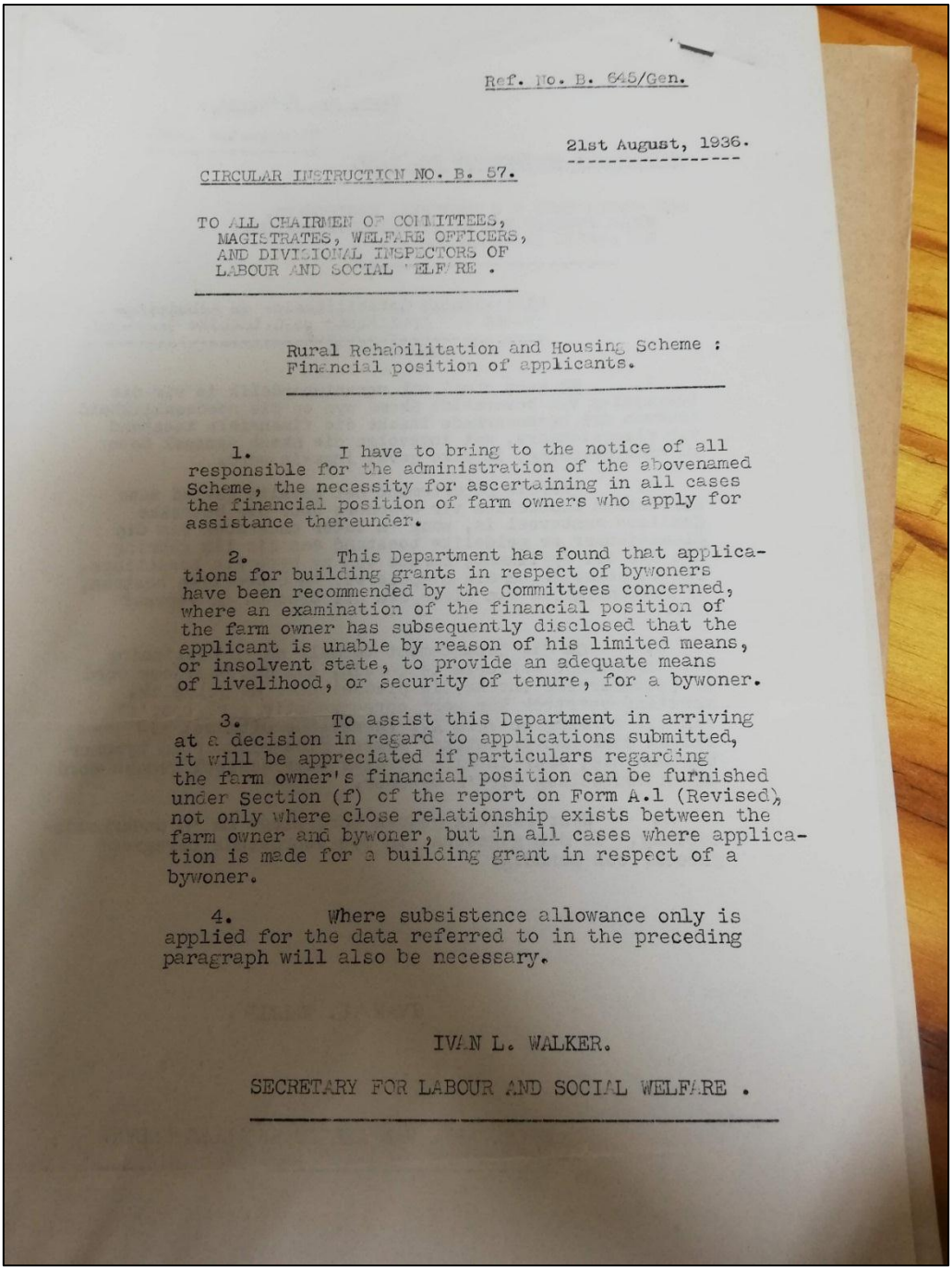
In verband met die brief wat u op vorm Wel.10(a) aan my gerig het, sluit ek hierby die inspeksierapport van komiteelid van Schalkwyk in. Dit blyk dat die eienaar ook nie die rekening van die leweransiers ontvang het nie en dit kan dus nie aangehoog word nie. Daar was sekere spoorvrag betaalbaar maar die sal die eienaar nie eis nie.

Hy het agterop die aangehegte brief geteken om aan te duie dat al die materiaal wat daarop genoem word deur hom ontvang is.

Ek vertrou dat die stukke so in die haak sal wees.

Magistraat.

Figure C.8. Bywoner rehabilitation 2.



Ref. No. B. 645/Gen.

21st August, 1936.

CIRCULAR INSTRUCTION NO. B. 57.

TO ALL CHAIRMEN OF COMMITTEES,
MAGISTRATES, WELFARE OFFICERS,
AND DIVISIONAL INSPECTORS OF
LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE .

Rural Rehabilitation and Housing Scheme :
Financial position of applicants.

1. I have to bring to the notice of all responsible for the administration of the abovenamed Scheme, the necessity for ascertaining in all cases the financial position of farm owners who apply for assistance thereunder.

2. This Department has found that applications for building grants in respect of bywoners have been recommended by the Committees concerned, where an examination of the financial position of the farm owner has subsequently disclosed that the applicant is unable by reason of his limited means, or insolvent state, to provide an adequate means of livelihood, or security of tenure, for a bywoner.

3. To assist this Department in arriving at a decision in regard to applications submitted, it will be appreciated if particulars regarding the farm owner's financial position can be furnished under Section (f) of the report on Form A.1 (Revised), not only where close relationship exists between the farm owner and bywoner, but in all cases where application is made for a building grant in respect of a bywoner.

4. Where subsistence allowance only is applied for the data referred to in the preceding paragraph will also be necessary.

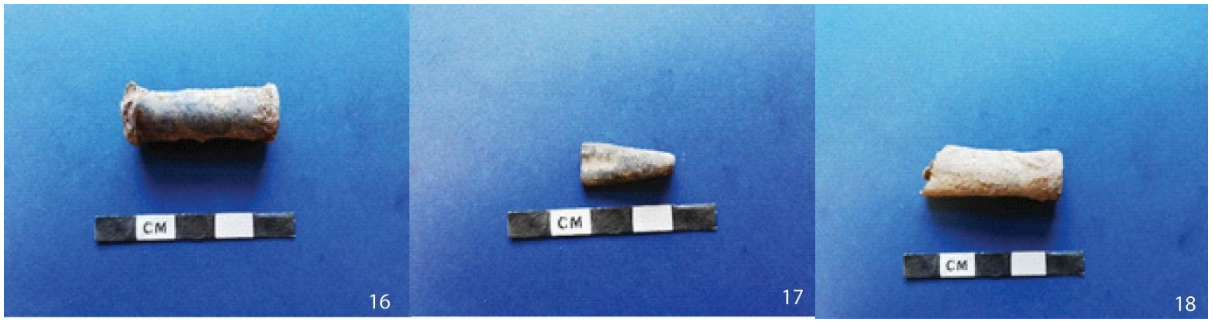
IVAN L. WALKER.

SECRETARY FOR LABOUR AND SOCIAL WELFARE .

Figure C.9. Bywoner rehabilitation circular.

APPENDIX D:

GORRAS IV METAL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APPENDIX E

METAL FROM GORRAS III MIDDENS 2 AND 3


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APPENDIX F:

GORRAS I SURFACE PICK-UP

The material picked up ranges a broad timespan from the mid-late 19th century into the 21st century. The material that will be detailed here is a sample which will likely give us a window into the socioeconomics of the occupants of Gorras I and the Victorian house as a means of primarily comparing the socioeconomics of the households from Gorras farm.

GORRAS I: CERAMIC ANALYSIS

Table I.1. Provenance profile.

PROVENANCE PROFILE	TOTAL SHERD COUNT	% TOTAL SHERD	MNV	%MNV
Asian Porcelain	7	2.5	5	2.7
European Porcelain	27	9.5	22	11.8
European Stoneware	4	1.4	4	2.2
European Refined Earthenware	247	86.7	155	83.3
TOTALS	285	100	186	100

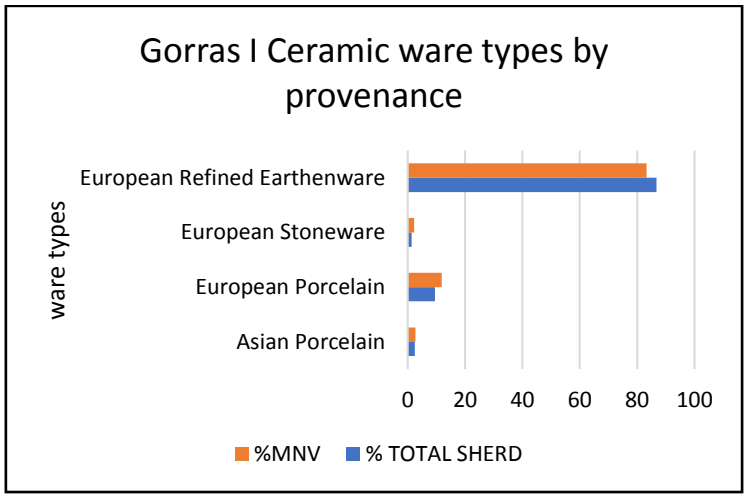


Figure I. 1. Gorras I pick-up by provenance.

Table I.2 Gorras I ceramics by decoration.

DECORATION TYPES	TOTAL SHERD COUNTS	% TOTAL SHERDS	MNV	%MNV
Undecorated Refined Earthen ware	47	20.6	41	27.3
Undecorated Porcelain	15	6.6	15	10
Transfer printed	78	34.2	38	25.3
Painted	50	21.9	25	16.7
Sponged	10	4.4	8	5.3
Slipware	2	0.9	2	1.3
Modified Edge/ Moulded body	2	0.9	2	1.3
Gilded	5	2.2	2	1.3
Coloured Body Refined Earthen Ware	1	0.4	1	0.7
Printed Porcelain	8	3.5	6	4
Painted Porcelain	5	2.2	5	3.3
Red body tea pot	1	0.4	1	0.7
Salt Glazed stoneware	2	0.9	2	1.3
Liquid glazed stoneware	2	0.9	2	1.3
Totals	**228**	**100**	**150**	**100**

UNDECORATED REFINED EARTHENWARE

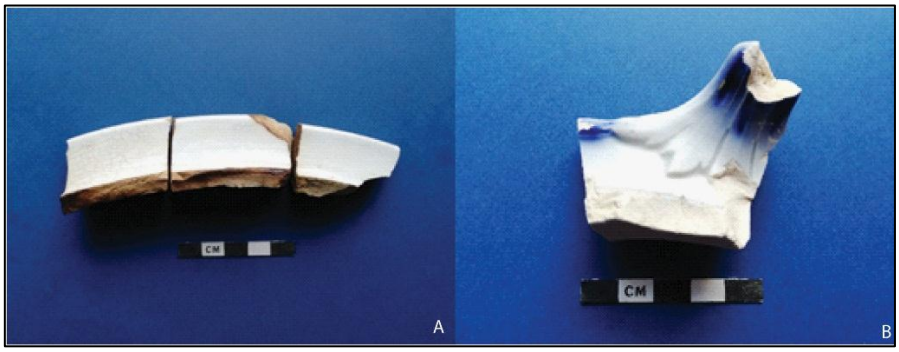


Figure I.2. Gorras I serving dishes.

Figure I.3. Bowls from Gorras I with ashy charcoal with profile views a. b and c.

TRANSFER PRINTED

Table I.3. Gorras I transfer prints

TRANSFER PRINT COLOUR	TOTAL SHERD	% TOTAL	MNV	%MNV TOTAL
Blue transfer print	30	43.5	10	31.3
Green transfer print	17	24.6	9	28.1
Red transfer print	2	2.9	1	3.1
Black transfer print	12	17.4	6	18.8
Purple transfer print	4	5.8	3	9.4
Brown transfer print	4	5.8	3	9.4
TOTALS	**69**	**100**	**32**	**100**

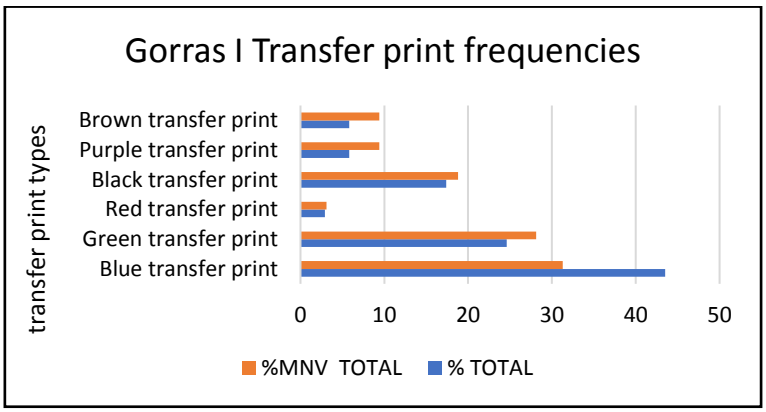


Figure I.4. Gorras I Transfer printed ceramics

PAINTED, PAINTED AND SPONGED, SPONGED AND SLIPWARE VESSELS

Table I. 4 Painted decorated wares

WARE TYPE	MNV	%MNV
Painted	10	43.5
Painted and sponged	5	21.7
Sponged	5	21.7
Slipware	3	13.0
Totals	23	100

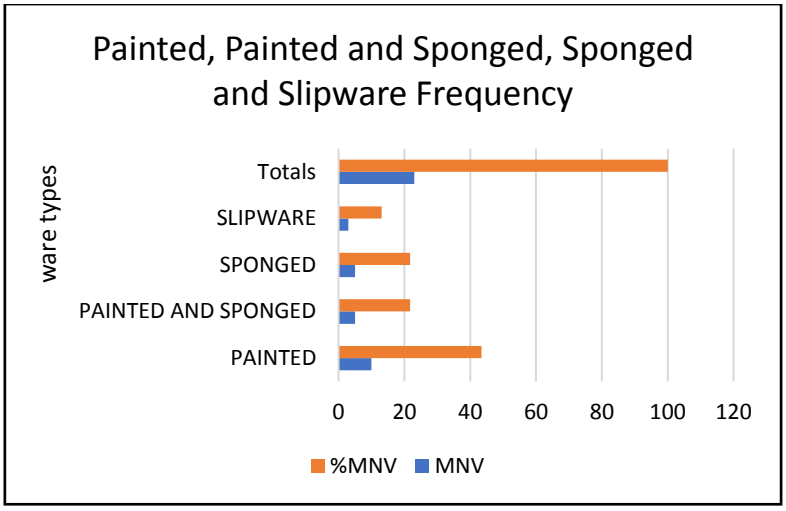


Figure I.5. Painted vessels.

Figure. I.6. 'Harsh' polychrome painted vessels with ash marks.

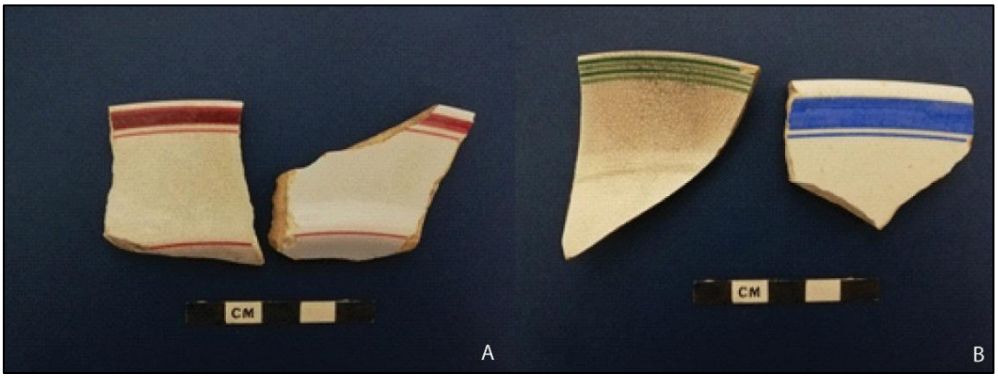


Figure I.7a. Red-lined plates. Figure 9.7b. Lined painted plates Gorras I.

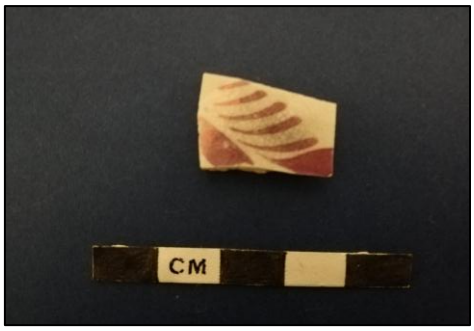


Figure I.8a. Painted lustre ware bowl sherd.

Figure I.9b. Painted serving dish.

SPONGED

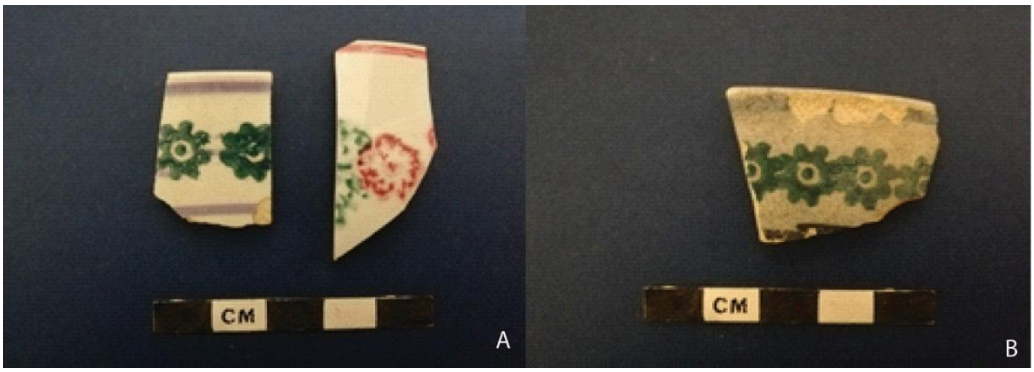
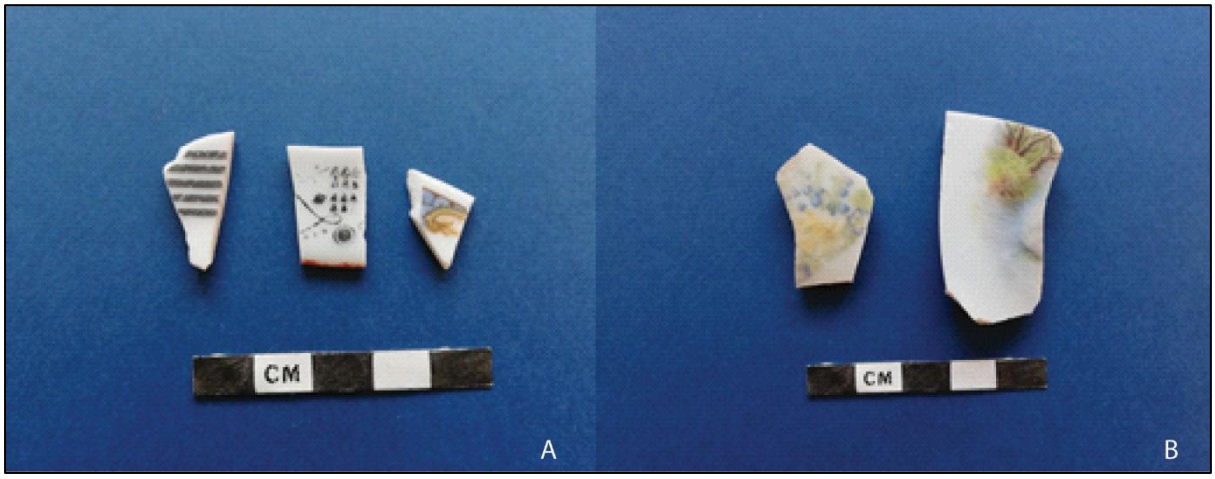


Figure I.10a Sponged floral pattern from Gorras I. Figure I.10b Sponged floral pattern in green and blue from Gorras I.

INDUSTRIAL SLIP-WARE VESSELS

Figure I.11. Blue slip ware vessels Gorras I.

DECORATED PORCELAIN



Figurel.12a. Gorras I Pick up, printed bone china/ European porcelain vessels. Figure I.12b. Decal printed multi-colour porcelain.

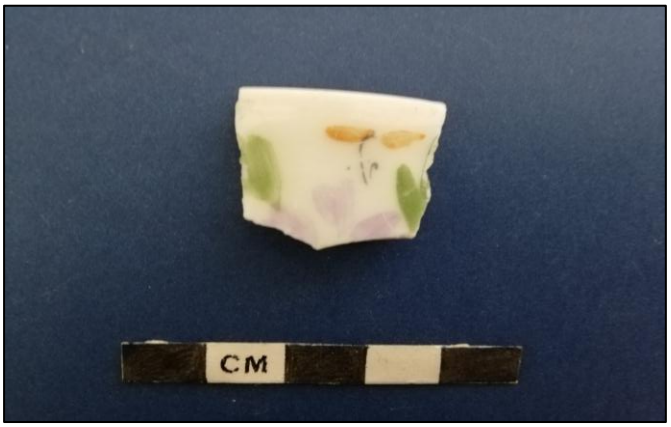


Figure I.13. Painted porcelain.

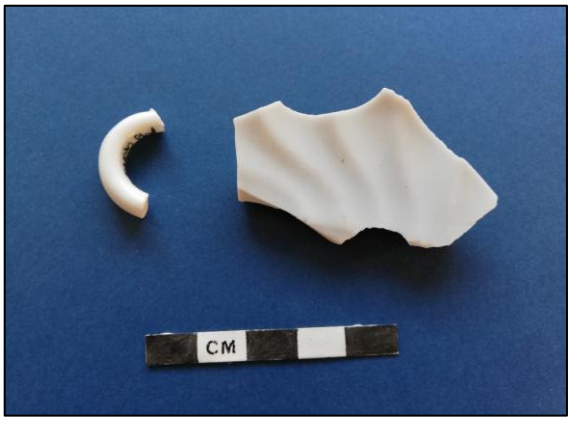


Figure I.14. Porcelain teacup handle and moulded body saucer.

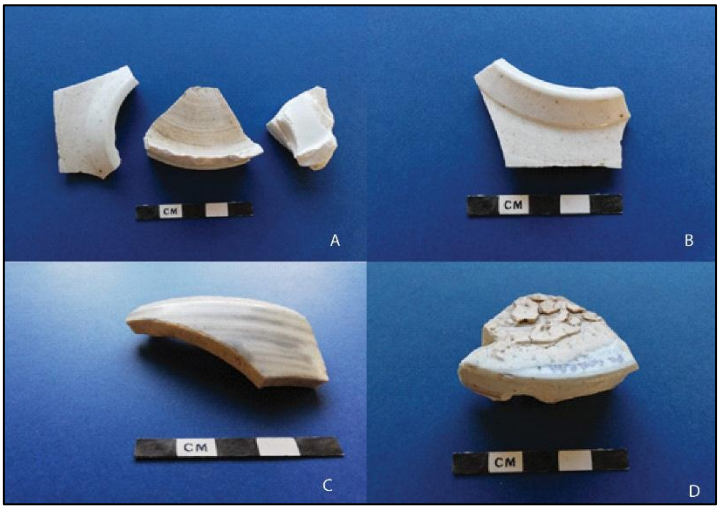


Figure I.15. Asian Coarse porcelain ginger jars.

STONEWARE

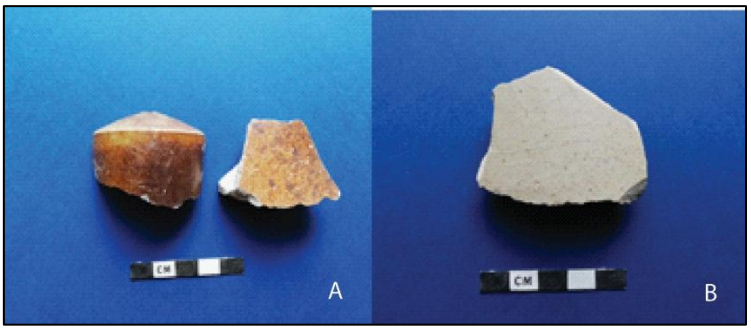


Figure I.16a Salt-glazed stoneware vessels. Figure I.16. Liquid glazed stoneware vessel.

FORM AND FUNCTION

Table I.5. Form and function of classification Gorras I.

FORM & POSSIBLE FUNCTION	ASIAN PORCELAIN	EUROPEAN PORCELAIN	EARTHENWARE	REFINED INDUSTRIAL EARTHENWARE	STONEWARE	MNV TOTAL	MNV %
FOOD& DRINK STORAGE							
JAR/MARTEVAN/CROCK	5				4	9	5.4
FOOD SERVING & CONSUMPTION							
PLATE 220-250MM				92		92	55.4
BOWL SMALL				39		39	23.5
BOWL/ TUREEN & COVER				2		2	1.2
DRINKING							
CUP		12				12	7.2
SAUCER		8				8	4.8
TEA/COFFEE POT				1		1	0.6
HEALTH & HYGIENE							
PHARMACEUTICAL				1		1	0.6
UTILITARIAN							
NON-FOOD CONTAINER		2				2	1.2
TOTALS	5	22		135	4	166	100

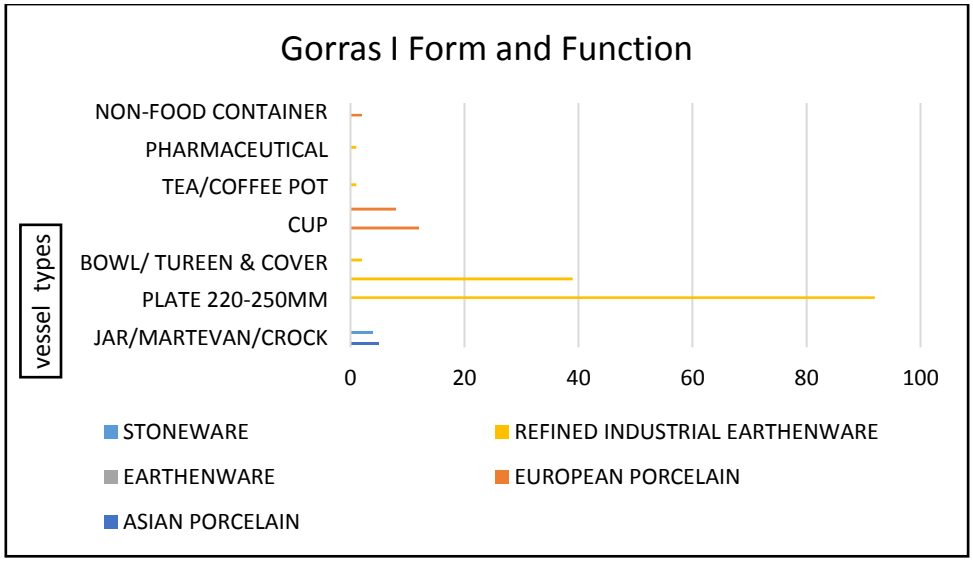


Figure I.17. Gorras I form and function versus the ware type

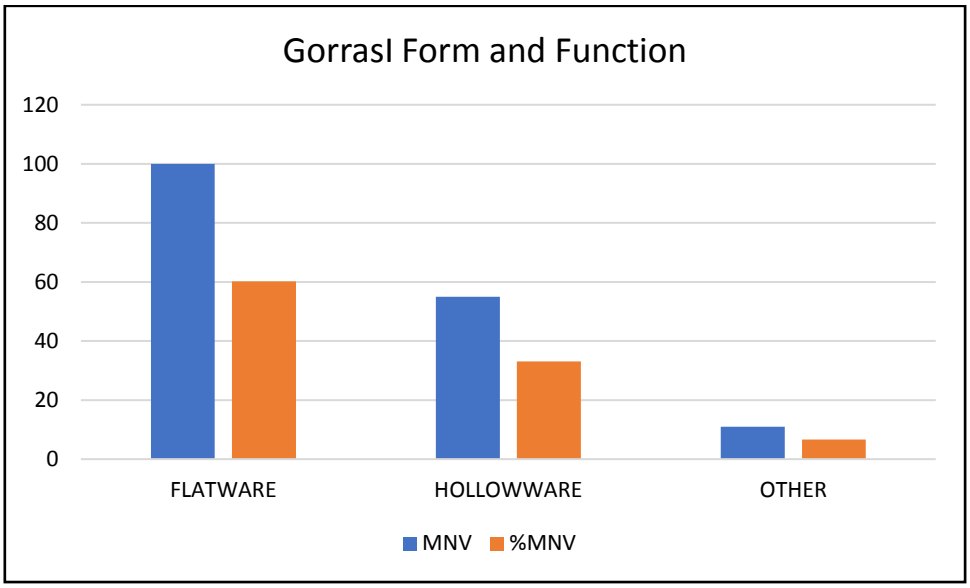


Figure I.18 Gorras I Flatware versus hollowware

GLASS

The diversity and range of glasses that come from the Gorras I assemblage are interesting as they produce a late 1850s date as well as an early 20th century date.

GREEN GLASS

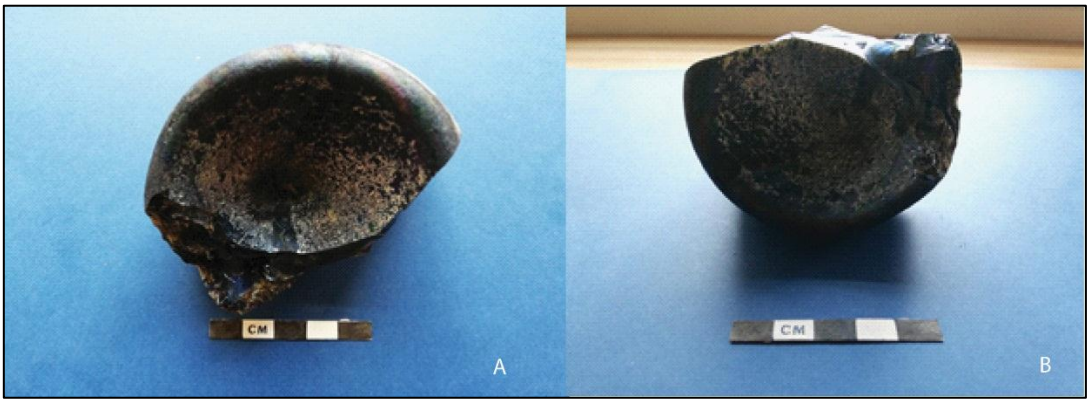


Figure I.20. Dark Green/Black wine bottle with pontil views.

CLEAR GLASS

These fragments of glass have a significant amount of moulding or embossing around the vessels, these types of vessels were most commonly used as table ware as vessels to serve food and drink from.

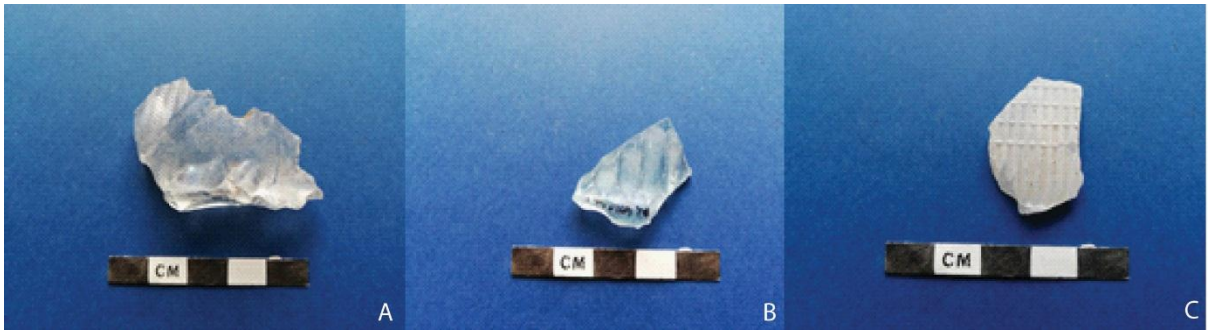


Figure I.21a. Clear glass - moulded tableware. Figure 9.I1b. Clear glass - moulded tableware. Figure 9.I1c. Ribbed or fluted glass.

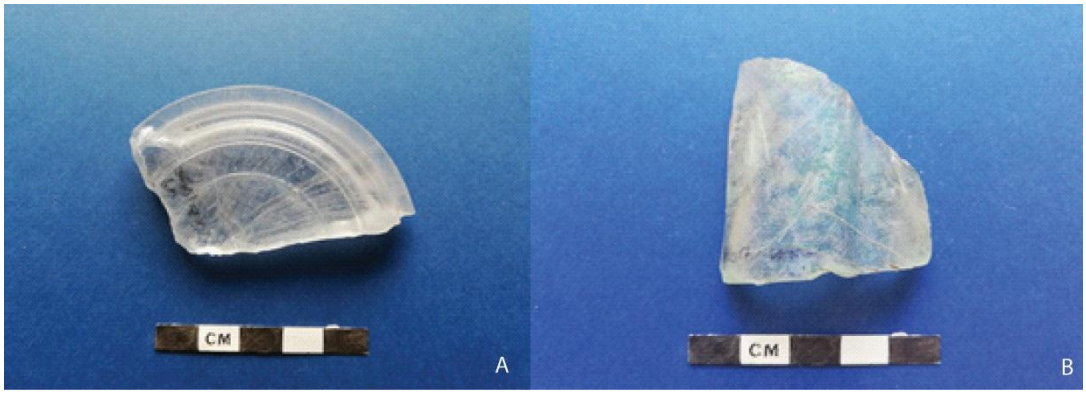


Figure I.22a. Clear glass base (carbonated beverage bottle). Figure I.22b. Possible "Codd" bottle.

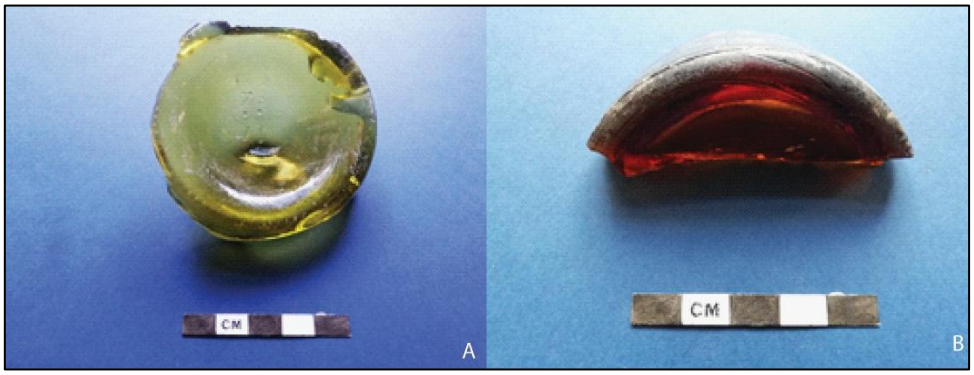


Figure I.23aGreen alcohol bottle with pontil. Figure I.23b. Brown alcoholic beverage container.

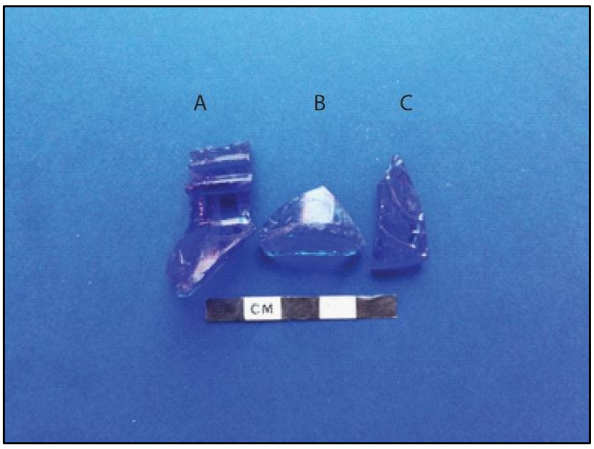


Figure I.24 Blue Glass with screw top finish and ribbing on vessels body.

Figure I.25. Manganese or solarized perfume bottle.

PLASTIC

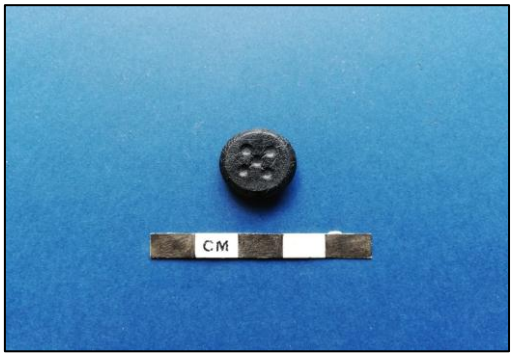


Figure I.19. Black plastic button Gorras I.

Table I.6. Gorras farm ceramics

	GORRAS I	GORRAS IV	GORRAS III MIDDEN 2	GORRAS III MIDDEN 3
TRANSFER PRINT COLOUR				
Blue transfer print	X	X	X	X
Green transfer print	X	X	X	X
Red transfer print	X	X	X	X
Black transfer print	X	X	X	X
Purple transfer print	X	-	-	-
Brown transfer print	X	-	X	-
VESSEL FORMS				
Serving dishes	X	-	-	X
Glass tableware	X	-	X	X
Porcelain cups	X	-	X	X
Decal printed porcelain	X	-	-	-
Black tea ware	X	-	X	X

APPENDIX J

GLOSSARY

Bastaard-Hottentotten sometimes also Bastaard/Basterd/Baster: A derogatory Dutch term for the offspring of slaves and *Khoesan* individuals. It was adopted by a number of people seeking social mobility (Legassick 2010).

Griqua: Nation formed by the descendants of *Bastaard* groups (see Penn 1986 and Legassick 1979).

Hottentot: A derogatory term for people of *Khoe* descent.

Kafhok: Grain storage.

Khoe/*Khoekhoe*: Indigenous nomadic pastoral herders of southern Africa.

Khoesan: A term used to describe *Khoe* and *San* agglomerations. (see Penn 2005).

Kook skerm: An outside kitchen area.

Korana/Corana: Semi-itinerant pastoral *Khoe* groups of the Orange River. *Korana* groups practised a raiding and trading lifestyle and are considered by some as descendants of *Khoe* groups from the Western Cape (see Barnard 1992).

Matjieshuise: Oval or circular reed and mat houses or huts, normally associated with *Khoe* and other non-European groups, but often used as temporary shelters by Dutch *trekboere*.

Oorlam: Hybrid groups of the northern frontier, initially formed in the late 1700s by *Khoe* proficient in Dutch and exposed to Christianity. Over time *Oorlam* groups were made up of peoples of mixed descent and had an economy often based on raiding and trading (see Dedering 1997: 52-57).

ABBREVIATIONS

HARG: Historical Archaeology Research Group

MNV: Minimum number of vessels

MOOC: Master of the Orphan Chamber

OES: Ostrich eggshell

REW: Refined earthenware

VOC: *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* or United East India Company, also known in English as the Dutch East India Company (DEIC).

APPENDIX K

SMALL FINDS

Small finds Gorras III Midden 2	
Description	Quantity
Dark blue bead	1
Aqua blue bead fragment	1
OES fragments	24
Metal button	1
White plastic button	2
Small finds Gorras III Midden 3	
blue beads	3
clear/white beads	1
metal button	2
game piece or rounded flat stone	2
Small finds Gorras IV	
Ceramic pipe stem	1
porcelain doll fragment	1
bakerite fragment	1